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This on-line reprint project, sponsored by Harvard's Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations and funded by the Charles Stewart Mott and Surdna Foundations, hopes to make many of these texts available free to students, scholars, and the general public. Each will be accompanied by a new introduction by a leading contemporary scholar, explaining the circumstances under which the original text was produced and its significance to our understanding of philanthropy and related fields.

The editors are particularly grateful to our Editorial Board, a group of distinguished scholars who recommended works worthy of inclusion in the series, and to the funders who have generously supported the project.

Peter Dobkin Hall

Richard Magat

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Introduction to the Philanthropy Classics Access Project Edition

This volume of essays was assembled for distribution at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago by the Committee on Literature of the Board of Women Managers of the State of New York. All of the states of the United States had been asked to form boards to support the program of the Women's Department of the exposition, and New York created one of the most active ones.¹ The program of the Women's Building, which was intended to represent women in all of the United States, was placed fully under a 117-member Board of Lady Managers, an unusual arrangement in an era when men usually regarded women as incapable of carrying out management responsibilities by themselves. The advanced role of women in the city's civic affairs, relative to the rest of the nation, was undoubtedly the reason why the Exposition's male leadership made that decision.²

One of the earliest acts of the Women Managers was to select a woman, a recent graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to design the Women's Building.³ In addition to housing exhibits, the Women's Building was also the site of frequent conferences, speeches and discussions on matters of

importance to women.⁴ One contemporary observer commented, "the constitution of the United States guarantees to everyone the right to pursue happiness; the [Woman's Building at the] Exposition is to show how woman is succeeding in making this pursuit effective."⁵ According to one historian, "the effect of the [exposition] experience on many of the women participants was electric."⁶

This volume contributed to the ferment of the Women's Building by documenting the role of New York's women in philanthropic activities, locally, nationally and internationally, and by demonstrating women's literary skill. The women of New York had a special reason to contribute a publication because they "had the honor of decorating and furnishing the Library of the Women's Building."⁷ The contributors to the volume, all women, ranged from several whose commitment to social reform had its origins in the antebellum anti-slavery movement, to those of a later generation who had found their civic calling in the settlement house movement of the late 1880s. Together they represent a spectrum of involvement in a traditional women's activity –

¹ "New York State Board of Women," *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated* 3 (August 1893): 152.

² Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 416.

³ Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: A 100-year Retrospective* (Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 416. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992), p. 42.

⁴ "Women's Department," in Trumbull White and William Ingleheart, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Co., 1893), p. 454.

⁵ François Edmond Bruwaert, "Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition," in Bessie Louise Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933*. Reprint ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 336.

⁶ Anne Firor Scott, "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 43-44 (quote on p. 44).

⁷ Blanche Wilder Bellamy, "General Introduction," in Frances A. Goodale, ed., *The Literature of Philanthropy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893), p. viii.

philanthropy – that had evolved into a springboard for advancing both women’s interests and social causes in New York, the United States, and the world.

Context

The year in which *The Literature of Philanthropy* appeared, 1893, was arguably a watershed period in American history. Formally, the exposition celebrated the four hundred years since Christopher Columbus began the European exploration and settlement of the New World, but in actuality it was a celebration of the mushrooming economic growth and political power of the United States. The city in which it was held, Chicago, had in the six decades since its founding become one of the world’s great commercial emporiums. Fully recovered from the great fire of 1873, Chicago’s railroads, banks and industries were in control of one of the richest agricultural and industrial hinterlands on the globe. As evidence of its leadership, the city’s downtown recently had given birth to the world’s first skyscrapers.⁸

Chicago represented the young giant that the American nation had become. The United States had the world’s greatest railroad network, and Chicago had become its greatest railroad hub; America had become the most important producer of iron and steel in the world, and Chicago’s metropolitan region contained some of the greatest and most advanced iron and steel works. The United States was exporting beef, wheat, corn, petroleum products and manufactured goods (such as sewing machines, agricultural implements, and electrical equipment) worldwide, and much of that trade flowed outward from Chicago to New York, and then to the world.

⁸ Miller, *City of the Century*, pp. 89-121, 143-158, 301-377.

This enormous economic activity in a capitalist society was creating concentrations of enormous wealth, particularly in America’s leading cities. Such titans as Andrew Carnegie, Collis P. Huntington, John J. Hill, Henry Clay Frick, and John D. Rockefeller had amassed much of their storied industrial fortunes. They were men who easily bent to their will the unregulated market and the weak government of the time. In this “Gilded Age” the raw power of money was visible everywhere, as well as the consequences of the lack of it.⁹

The economic power of the business titans gave them virtually unlimited authority over armies of workers, among whom only the elite craft workers had developed the counterweight of union combinations that provided some control over wages, hours, and working conditions. Most workers were at the mercy of economic conditions: in good times they had work (and 60-72 hour work weeks), in bad times they had little to fall back on but the mercies of the more fortunate. America in the 1890s was well aware of the inequalities between capital and labor, and the conflicts it engendered. The Haymarket Square riot (1886) and the Pullman strike (1894) in Chicago, and the swelling poverty in New York City were evidence that American society had class and labor problems, but few workable answers were offered.¹⁰

Globally the United States was beginning to find its place among the world’s imperial nations. While still without a

⁹ Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America*, Rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 129-180. Many of the business titans were philanthropic, although “the motives of donors and purposes of their gifts defy generalization”: Robert H. Bremner, *The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 214.

¹⁰ Cochran and Miller, *The Age of Enterprise*, pp. 228-236.

significant military establishment, a naval rearmament program begun in the 1880s was demonstrated its potential strength. In any case the United States was only five years from initiating a war with Spain from which it acquired the two-ocean empire that gave it status with the European powers.

For all of these signs of growth and power, 1893 also was the year of the beginning of greatest economic downturn in the United States prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the winter of 1893-94 Americans were being called on to respond to what one group of eminent citizens in New York City described as “the present pressing want.”¹¹ It was also a time when hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrived annually on American shores, many crowding into American cities in a desperate search for a better life. A century later many immigrant neighborhoods were remembered with affection, and referred to as the birthplaces of ethnic American identities, but stories in this volume echo those told by contemporaries such as Jacob Riis in *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), who reported on the squalid (if sometimes heroic) lives of the residents of tenement districts in New York City.

This was also the era of resurgence and recrystallization of racism in America. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the United State Supreme Court decision that gave racial segregation legal authority throughout the nation, was only three years in the future. This was not a sudden change The end of slavery had been followed by only modest civil rights victories for African-Americans In the 1880s and 1890s, even such rights were eroded by Jim Crow laws in the American South, and by the growing customs of racial division in

¹¹ J. Pierpont Morgan, et al., to John D. Rockefeller, 20 February 1894, folder 218, box 28, John D. Rockefeller Office Correspondence (hereafter JDR Office Correspondence), Record Group 1, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.

the North and Midwest. In New York City, for example, “The People’s Seaside Home,” a site on Coney Island where the working poor and the sick were offered a day of “pure air, sea bathing, and wholesome food,” was careful to note in 1891 that it arranged for “parties composed exclusively of COLORED PEOPLE” in addition to its regular program.¹² In this last decade of the century the United States was entering a dark era of race relations, in which a spectrum of actions – from lynchings, to legalized discrimination, to film and radio caricatures – were means of stigmatizing non-Whites in order to keep them in a subservient caste.

Native Americans were included in the category of “other,” and had little to expect from a nation that officially regarded them as dependents of the state. The report of the United States Bureau of the Census for 1890 had declared that there was no longer a North American frontier, in a sense making it clear that indigenous people no longer had a homeland. In the same year the United States cavalry conducted its last action of the Indian wars, slaughtering nearly 250 Lakota Sioux at Wounded Knee.¹³ Native Americans were viewed with little sympathy by most white North Americans – they were alternatively considered to be one of the world’s aboriginal, uncivilized races, more of a scientific curiosity than a threat, a group of savage bands whose antagonism to economic and technological progress doomed them to extinction;

¹² “An Ocean Party. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The People’s Seaside Home, West Coney Island. (New York: New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 1891), attachment to F. L. Longworth to John D. Rockefeller, 6 June 1892, folder 192, box 25, JDR Office Correspondence, capitals in the original.

¹³ Roger L. Nichols, *American Indians in U.S. History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), pp. 145-46.

or as child-like supplicants who were allowed to live on the generosity of enlightened whites.¹⁴

Some of European ancestry were treated in much the same way. Those convicted of serious criminal acts were sent to “penitentiaries,” or “reformatories,” presumably to encourage them to meditate on their behavior and have the opportunity to atone for their misdeeds. However, in spite of developing some relatively progressive approaches to the housing and treatment of prisoners in the mid-nineteenth century, by 1893 American society showed little interest in redemption and a great deal of inclination toward punishment. Draconian regimes of hard labor, frequently resulting in injury, disfigurement or death, were the most common approaches toward management of convicts; rehabilitation or some other means of reconciling convicts to society were sometimes official policy, but seldom carried out.¹⁵

The handicapped (to use a twenty-first-century term) who were in institutions (most in this era were cared for in households by their families) fared little better than the criminals. Hard work, which in this era seemed to be the preferred regime for anyone in a custodial situation, was the standard prescription for those capable of it rather than training or schooling.¹⁶ The blind were seldom afforded any special treatment until educational systems of French

¹⁴ A contemporary (1881) critique of the treatment of Indians was recently republished as: Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: The Classic Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003) .

¹⁵ Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977), pp. 170-96.

¹⁶ Kathleen McCarthy views these attitudes as originating in Jacksonian America. See Kathleen D. McCarthy, *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700-1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 168.

origin filtered into American society in the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the century a few schools for the blind were sprinkled across the nation, sometimes tax-supported, and sometimes established through philanthropy.¹⁷

Women and Philanthropy

Throughout the essays in this book are direct and implied references to the nineteenth-century history of American women in philanthropic causes. Although even in colonial times American women at times were involved in organizing and managing philanthropic institutions, noticeable change occurred in the early 1800s. With variation by region, women regularly began to create voluntary and nonprofit organizations, usually associated with religious institutions. These new organizations were supported largely by donations, but when they appeared to serve the public weal they sometimes were supported by public funds.¹⁸

Often women found that taking roles in the organizations spawned by the major Protestant denominations provided the footholds necessary for establishing networks of like-minded women. By 1840, even though they were “a comparatively new phenomena,” charitable institutions organized by women had become commonplace. They were based on women’s increasing claims that they “had a legitimate place in public affairs on the basis of their superior morality and the ‘natural’ concern they felt whenever issues that affected women and children were raised.” Therefore “orphan asylums, temperance, and missionary activity

¹⁷ Frances A. Koestler, *The Unseen Minority: A Social History of Blindness in the United States* (New York: David McKay, 1976). pp. 95-96, 410.

¹⁸ Kathleen D. McCarthy, “Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere,” in McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful*, pp. 4-6, McCarthy, *American Creed*, pp. 142.

all fell within this enlarged definition of women's place."¹⁹ Women also became leaders in the anti-slavery movement that developed in the 1830s, and continued to have significant roles in the movement right up to emancipation.²⁰

The American Civil War provided a opportunity for women to get involved in public service activities, particularly through the United States Sanitary Commission that provided support services and medical aid to northern troops. While men were the legal leaders of the Sanitary Commission "women... contributed their administrative and fund-raising skills, with impressive results. Over seven thousand soldier's aid auxiliaries eventually joined the commission's networks, helping to gather and distribute more than \$15 million...in supplies for the Union troops."²¹ Similar services were undertaken by southern women to support the Confederate cause. Overall, a generation of American women gained experience in voluntary action and in nonprofit organization.

In the latter nineteenth century there grew up an established sphere of women's philanthropic activity and, at the same time, particular means of keeping women in their place. Through their determined actions women created a range of institutions, from women's colleges (requiring substantial fund-raising and long-term commitments) to local women's clubs (which might not outlast the enthusiasm of the first members), that often engendered philanthropic actions. But these same organizations often had

¹⁹ Michael D. Pierson, *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), pp. 11-12.

²⁰ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), pp. 41-52.

²¹ McCarthy, *American Creed*, pp. 193-94.

male patrons, and when more highly organized, boards of male supporters, who took on such legal functions as were necessary, or – equally important in a patriarchal society – maintained male oversight over a gender thought to tend toward over-excitement and failure of logical thinking. Whatever the protests of women whose experience demonstrated that they could carry out their good works perfectly well on their own, in the late nineteenth century as a practical matter philanthropically-inclined women knew that they were working in a world controlled by legal and social systems that gave them few rights. At the time this volume was published national suffrage was more than a quarter-century in the future.

Moreover, men of the era were perfectly willing to concede to women considerable latitude in the realm of philanthropy, believing that it was a proper and even God-given exercise of their abilities. As one sympathetic contemporary American male writer put it:

In the field of charity, women's work stands as a brilliant example of sacrifice and generosity. Her fitness for this work is emphasized throughout all of the old Hebrew writings...In these days, woman, if anything, is an organizer, and emphasizes that fact at meetings, clubs, and congresses, but she does not forget, however great may be her interest in the questions of political equality, temperance, or dress reform, that the greatest of her duties is charity.²²

²² William C. King, *The World's Progress as Wrought by Men and Women in Art, Literature, Education, Philanthropy, Reform, Inventions, Business and Professional Life* (Springfield, MA: King-Richardson Publishing Co., 1896), p. 373.

The evangelical impulse in Protestantism also served these women well, notwithstanding their faith commitment, in that their enthusiasm for saving souls served to excuse whatever unladylike activities that were required. Visiting prisons, living among the Indians, going into slum housing, associating with the underclass, and even political activity could be understood as the necessary, if deplorable, accompaniments of missionary activity. Thus, *The Literature of Philanthropy* contains vivid descriptions of some of the worst aspects of human behavior as well as depictions of personal sacrifice, perseverance, and commitment to public welfare.

Contributors

The contributors are a mixed lot, viewed from the perspective of the early twenty-first century. Some were leaders of social reform movements; many had significant literary skills; several were educators, one was a physician, and the backgrounds of several are obscure.

Editors

Biographical details for the editor of this volume, Frances A. Goodale, are sketchy. In 1893 she lived in Utica, New York with her husband, John A. Goodale, a banker. In that same year she founded and was elected the first president of the New Century Club, a women's club in Utica. She was later the co-editor of a history of Utica. By 1900 she and her husband had moved to New York City. Why she was selected to edit this volume, the degree to which she was responsible for selecting the contributors, and whether or not she was active in social reform, are facts apparently lost to history.²³

²³ Personal communication from Robert Quist, Utica Public Library, May 19, 2005; Elizabeth Gilman Brown, Ida Butcher and Frances Abigail Goodale, eds.,

Blanche Wilder Bellamy

We know much more about Blanche Wilder Bellamy, the editor of Harper and Brothers' "Distaff Series" in which this volume appeared, and the author of the introduction to this volume. Named for a tool for the home-spinning of thread, a task that was identified with women from colonial times into the nineteenth century, the series was specifically issued as "a contribution to the Columbian Exhibition." It consisted of six volumes of essays edited by women.²⁴ Bellamy wrote an introduction for at least one other volume of the series.²⁵

Bellamy was a member of the Board of Women Managers of the State of New York for the World's Columbian Exposition and Chairman of its Committee on Literature. According to the official magazine of the exposition, Bellamy assembled 2500 books for the New York library in the Women's Building, and "in a brief and comprehensive address Mrs. Bellamy presented the library to the Board of Lady Managers." She was also regarded as "one of the most distinguished and accomplished women" on the New York board.²⁶

Outline History of Utica and Vicinity, Prepared by a Committee of the New Century Club (Utica, NY: L.C. Childs & Sons, 1900).

²⁴ "Notes," *The Nation* 56 (May 25, 1893): 385. Between the half-title and the full title of the original edition of *The Literature of Philanthropy* there is an advertisement for the six volumes in the Distaff Series.

²⁵ Review of *Woman and the Higher Education*, *The Nation* 57 (September 28, 1893): 234.

²⁶ "New York State Board of Women," *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated* 3 (August 1893): 152.

A native of New York, Bellamy had graduated from Vassar College in 1873. In 1879 she married Frederick P. Bellamy, and had one son. Her commitment to women's interests was demonstrated by her service to Barnard College, of which she was an associate trustee, and to the Brooklyn Hospital Training School for Nurses, of which she was vice-president for ten years. She also was active with the YWCA and the Twentieth Century Club of New York.²⁷ She was the co-author (with Maud Wilder Goodwin, another contributor, and probably her sister) of a popular school text, *Open Sesame! Poetry and Prose for School-Days*, and author of *Ten English Poets*, a collection of biographical sketches. She was a frequent contributor to popular magazines.

Bellamy's literary bent probably put her in contact with several of this volume's contributors who were clearly in literary circles, particularly Elaine Goodale Eastman, Fannie W. McLean, and Mrs. Frederic Rhineland Jones (see below). (Two others, Laura M. Doolittle and Helen Moore, also may have been writers).²⁸

²⁷ *Who Was Who in America*, vol. 4 (Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1968), p. 74; John William Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York: American Commonwealth, 1914), p. 92; "Notes," *The Nation* 69 (July 20, 1899): 52.

²⁸ Laura M. Doolittle, "Matches," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 42 (December 1870): 117-120; Helen Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1886). Doolittle's article contains a detailed description of a match factory which notes that the factory's workforce was composed of a number of children and fifty immigrant women. I have not been able to connect either of these earlier publications with the contributors to this volume of the same names.

Reformers: Prisoners and Consumers

Josephine Shaw Lowell (1843-1905) is one of the most famous American women reformers of the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁹ Born in West Roxbury, near Boston, Massachusetts, she moved with her family to Staten Island, New York in 1848. Her parents were wealthy enough to spend five years in France and Italy, 1851-56, where as a young girl she was educated. During the American Civil War, in which her family was committed to the Union cause because of their abolitionist sympathies, she was involved in philanthropic causes. A lifelong Unitarian, her charitable activities were informed by her faith. In 1864 her husband of one year, Charles Russell Lowell, died of wounds received while serving in the Union army; the year before her brother was killed while leading African-American troops.³⁰ Immediately after the war she assisted with the development of freedman's schools in Virginia.

Lowell became most noted for her commitment to prison reform, which began while serving on a committee for Staten Island of the Prison Association of the State of New York. In 1876 Governor Tilden appointed her to the State Board of Charities, where she pursued numerous improvements. She argued in favor

²⁹ The most valuable of several biographical sketches of Lowell are those in *The Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America*. Walter I. Trattner, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 511-515; *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*. 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971), 2: 437-39; and Robert H. Bremner, "Lowell, Josephine Shaw," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*. 24 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14: 45-45. A recent full-scale biography is Joan Waugh's *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³⁰ The Civil War career of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was dramatized in the motion picture *Glory* (1989).

of supporting self-reliant, sober workers, and aiming the state's charitable efforts at helping the pauperized move into that class. She is credited with persuading the state to establish a separate prison for women, in 1881.³¹ She resigned from the board in 1889, "declaring that helping workers 'before they go under' was better than 'fishing them out when they are half drowned and taking care of them afterward!'"³²

Lowell was instrumental in founding the Charity Organization of New York (1882), which attempted to rationalize the distribution of funds to the city's aid organizations. Subsequently Lowell founded the Consumer's League of New York (1890), and was active in aid to the unemployed in New York City during the economic depression of 1893-94. She supported the rights of workers to strike for better wages, and late in life was vice-president of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York.

Reformers: Tenements and Immigrants

Jean Fine Spahr (b. 1861), an 1883 graduate of Smith College, joined other Smith graduates in forming the College Settlements Association in 1887 to promote the establishment of settlement houses modeled on Toynbee Hall in London. Having had several years of teaching experience in Kentucky and New York, in November 1888 she joined with Jane E. Robbins to begin the work that led to the founding of the College Settlement in New

York City, the second of that city's settlement houses. On September 1, 1889 they established a base at 95 Rivington Street on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Fine became the settlement's head resident, and served until July 1892, when she resigned because of her marriage to Charles B. Spahr, an editor of the *Outlook*, a religious periodical that in the 1890s became a voice for social reform. They had five daughters. Although Jean Spahr left the staff of the settlement, she remained on its board of trustees.³³

Fannie Williams McLean was a native of San Francisco, California, and graduated from the University of California. After teaching high school in Berkeley, California, 1886-1890, she worked at the College Settlement in Philadelphia and the College Settlement in New York from 1891 to 1893. Returning to California to continue her teaching career, she also wrote for various magazines.³⁴

The backgrounds of Helen Moore and Dr. Mary Damon, who contributed to this volume essays on work in the New York City tenements, are obscure. Moore may have been the author of a biography of British feminist Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, who is best known as the author of *Frankenstein*.³⁵ Damon, as a trained female physician, was in a distinct minority of the American

³¹ Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977), p. 165; Bremner, *The Public Good*, pp. 173-74, 205-06.

³² Quoted in Bremner, "Lowell, Josephine Shaw," 14: 46.

³³ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, pp. 767-68; Domenica M. Barbuto, *American Settlement Houses and Progressive Social Reform: An Encyclopedia of the American Settlement Movement* (Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press, 1999), pp. 75, 162; Harry P. Kraus, *The Settlement House Movement in New York City, 1886-1914* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 68-70, 70n, 134.

³⁴ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 528; "College Settlement (Philadelphia)," in Barbuto, ed., *American Settlement Houses*, pp. 52-53.

³⁵ Helen Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1886).

medical profession in the late nineteenth century; only 4,555 women physicians were recorded in the United States Census of 1890.³⁶

Somewhat more is known about Agnes L. Brennan, identified in this volume as Superintendent of the Bellevue (Hospital) Training School for Nurses. The Bellevue school, founded in 1873 as the first nursing school in the United States, was an integral unit of the Bellevue Hospital in New York City. It was known for its leadership in setting nursing education standards.³⁷ Brennan, a native of Ireland, was an 1882 graduate of the school, and soon after was appointed Assistant Superintendent; she became Superintendent in 1888 and served in that position until 1902.³⁸

Reformers: Native Americans

Fortified by Christian convictions, Amelia Stone Quinton spent a lifetime in reform movements, much of it seeking to improve conditions for native Americans.³⁹ Born near Syracuse,

³⁶ King, *The World's Progress*, p. 183.

³⁷ Mary M. Roberts, *American Nursing: History and Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), pp. 11-12; Susan Armeny, "'Organized Nurses, Woman Philanthropists, and the Intellectual Bases for Cooperation Among Women, 1898-1920,'" Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, ed., *Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1983), pp. 17-18.

³⁸ Notes on the life of Agnes S. Brennan, folder 4, box 1, Bellevue Alumnae Association Records (MC19), Bellevue Alumnae Center for Nursing History, Foundation of the New York State Nurses Association, Guilderland, New York. This reference is courtesy of Rachel Donaldson, archivist, Bellevue Alumnae Center for Nursing History.

³⁹ Standard biographical sketches of Quinton include: Sara Romeyn and Michelle E. Osborn, "Quinton,

New York, she became a teacher in New York, Georgia and Pennsylvania. Settling in the latter state after a brief marriage ended with her husband's death, she became active in the temperance movement in the 1870s. During a trip to Europe in 1877 she met and married her second husband, the Rev. Richard L. Quinton, who returned to the United States with her. In 1879 she became involved in supporting Indian rights to their lands in Oklahoma, which were coveted by prospective settlers. With her friend Mary L. Bonney, and others she founded the Women's National Indian Association in 1883. She became the association's president in 1887 and served in that role for many years. For the rest of her life she was a leader of those in White society who were interested in Indian welfare.

Quinton believed that the Indians' salvation lay in adopting the values and way of life of White society and culture, beginning with land ownership and formal education. She regarded much of Indian culture as barbaric, and wanted it to be replaced with Christianity, a strong domestic life patterned on European models, and a commitment to the market economy.⁴⁰ She opposed those who believed that Native Americans were inherently inferior and were destined to die out as a people.

In her remarks at the annual meeting of the Women's National Indian Association in 1892 she celebrated

Amelia Stone," in Garraty and Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, 18: 47-48; Irene Joanne Westing, "Quinton, Amelia Stone," in James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women*, 3: 108-110.

⁴⁰ In an 1893 letter to Frederick T. Gates, she refers to the need to evangelize the "heathen Indians": Amelia S. Quinton to F.T. Gates, 26 May 1893, folder 244, box 32, JDR Office Correspondence.

the fact that 200,000 of the 250,000 Indians of the country are self-supporting by civilized avocations; ... that the duty of freeing Indians from their disabilities is everywhere acknowledged, and best of all, that the Indians themselves are now demanding and worthily using their rights.⁴¹

Elaine Goodale Eastman

Born in Massachusetts in 1863, Eastman early showed a talent for writing, publishing three volumes of poems co-authored with her sister (Dora Read Goodale) beginning in 1878. Her family moved to New York City in 1883, but Eastman soon took a teaching position at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. There she began writing about Indian matters for the Institute's newspaper, and in 1885 took a six-week tour of the Dakota Territory. The next year she took a position as a government teacher among the Sioux, and in 1890 became the superintendent of all Indian schools in the new states of North and South Dakota.

During 1890 Eastman wrote numerous articles on Indian matters. She also met Charles Alexander Eastman, a Santee Sioux working on the Dakota reservation who was educated at Dartmouth College and who later graduated from medical school at Boston University. They married in 1891 and Eastman left her teaching career in favor of raising a family, which eventually included six children. She continued to publish essays and books, and eventually became the editor of the newspaper of the Carlisle (Pennsylvania) Indian School. According to one critic, Eastman's writing focused on the "dominant themes [of] ... woman as giver,

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: Women's National Indian Association, 1892), p. 10.

the painful joy of loving, the noble vanishing Indian, and intercultural understanding."⁴²

A Literary Set

Two of the volume's contributors are best known for their literary skills.⁴³

Maud Wilder Goodwin

Goodwin (1856-1935) was born in Ballston Spa, New York. She married Almon Goodwin in 1879 and had two daughters. She was an author of popular poetry, articles and books, including, about the time of this publication, two on colonial Virginia, and *Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times: Dolly Madison* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896). She was the co-editor, with Blanche Wilder Goodwin (probably her sister, above), of *Open Sesame: Poetry and Prose for School-Days*.⁴⁴

⁴² Lina Mainiero, ed., *American Women Writers*. 4 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979), 1:189; Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 267; Goodale, Dora Read, "Who's Who in America, 1901-02" (Chicago: Marquis, 1901), p. 440.

⁴³ No information has been located to identify further Julia Margaret Fuller Lloyd, whose essay "The Negro and Civilization" describes her as "an American woman of the South," nor on Laura M. Doolittle. A writer with the latter name contributed an article on "Matches," to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 42 (December 1870): 117-120. It contains a detailed description of a match factory and notes that the factory's workforce was composed of a number of children and fifty immigrant women.

⁴⁴ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 334; Maud Wilder Goodwin, *The Colonial Cavalier, or Southern Life before the Revolution* (New York: Coryell & Co., 1894); Maud Wilder Goodwin, ed., *The Head of a Hundred: Being an Account of Certain Passages in the life of Humphrey Huntoon, Esq., Sometime an Officer in the Colony of Virginia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1895).

Mrs. Frederic Rhineland Jones (Mary Cadwalader Rawle Jones)

Jones was born to the blue-blood Rawle family of Philadelphia. She married Frederic Rhineland Jones of New York, and moved there, joining an elite circle of literary and artistic figures. She became the literary agent for Edith Wharton. Jones, her husband, and their daughter, Beatrix, were on the invitation list for Mrs. William B. Astor's ball in February 1892, certifying them as members of New York City's social elite. Beatrix Cadwalader Jones became a leading American landscape architect.⁴⁵

Extracts

The editor chose to include in the volume, under the heading "The Antislavery Struggle," extracts from the writings of six women from New York who had roles in the antislavery movement. The ultimate success of that movement – though three decades in the past – was obviously fresh in the minds of American women engaged in other reform projects in 1893.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were long-time compatriots in antislavery work and in agitation for women's rights. They have remained icons of American history. Stanton (1815-1902) was born in Johnstown, New York, and attended Emma Willard's seminary in Troy, New York. Attracted to the

antislavery and temperance movements, she married a staunch abolitionist, and in spite of the burdens of having seven children, became an active reformer. Often working with Susan B. Anthony, she took on a range of social issues, but like Anthony, after the Civil War concentrated on women's rights, including the right to vote. After the death of her husband in 1887 Stanton lived in New York City.⁴⁶ Anthony (1820-1906) was born in Massachusetts, but lived in the upper Hudson River and Mohawk River valleys of New York from age six. Raised according to Quaker tenets, she easily absorbed the reform enthusiasms dominant in the region and became active in the temperance, anti-slavery, and women's rights movements. After strongly supporting the Union side during the Civil War she turned her attentions to women's suffrage; she became a national leader of the movement, and served that cause for the rest of her life.⁴⁷

Lesser known to Americans are the other four writers quoted. Ernestine Louise Silsmondi Potowski (1810-1892) was a native of Poland. She married William E. Rose in England in 1829, and emigrated to the United States in 1836, settling in New York. Already an activist in England, she was active in reform movements, and is reported to have lectured on abolition and women's rights, among other subjects. She also "attended nearly every N[ew] Y[ork] state and national convention relating to women's rights, 1850-1869."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Catha Grace Rambusch, "Farrand, Beatrix Cadwalader Jones," *American National Biography*, 7: 733-34; "Original list of Mrs. [William B.] Astor's guests to her ball in February 1892, as given by Mr. Ward McAllister to the New York Times," at www.raken.com/american_wealth/encyclopedia/Mrs_Astors_400.asp, site visited March 3, 2005.

⁴⁶ Alma Lutz, "Stanton, Elizabeth Cady," in *Notable American Women*, 3: 342-47.

⁴⁷ Alma Lutz, "Anthony, Susan Brownell," in *Notable American Women*, 1: 51-57.

⁴⁸ "Rose, Ernestine Louise Silsmondi Potowski," in *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896*, Rev. ed. (Chicago: Marquis – Who's Who, 1967), H: 525.

J. Elizabeth Jones published a tract in 1848, *The Young Abolitionists; or Conversations on Slavery*, that “embodies all of the Garrisonian abolition philosophy.”⁴⁹

Elizabeth Oakes Prince Smith (1806-1893) was a native of Maine; she married Seba Smith in 1823 when she was still a teenager. She and her husband moved to New York City in 1837 and “took their places in that city’s literary circles.” Smith was an active reformer, and attended the Seneca Falls women’s rights convention of 1848 and later women’s meetings. In 1877 she became a minister of an independent protestant congregation in Canastota, New York. Throughout her life she published a variety of works of fiction and non-fiction.⁵⁰

Frances Dana Barker Gage (1808-1880) was raised in rural Ohio. Her parents were abolitionists who aided fugitive slaves. She married and had eight children, and took up writing in part to support her family. She was a reformer who was president of the Akron (Ohio) women’s convention of 1851, supported freed slaves during the Civil War, and later in life supported women’s suffrage.⁵¹

Conclusion

Readers of this volume are entering a kind of time capsule of American history. They have the opportunity to enter into the year 1893, and to experience in particular the views of women social reformers, who brought their critiques, analyses,

experiences, hopes and dreams to an audience in Chicago that was expected to be representative of the world. Some of these views may seem quite similar to those of the early twenty-first century: issues relating to criminality and penology, urban congestion and poverty, public health, minorities and the disabled are still with us. Other views that readers will encounter, such regarding “industry and thrift” as the fundamental solution to problems, and the expectation that the common good can be secured by overriding individual rights, may seem oversimplified or antique. And some matters, including women’s suffrage, are curiously absent from the discussions.

Thus readers may experience simultaneously a sense of *déjà vu*, and a sense that we have learned more about the limits and benefits of democratic processes over the last century. Continuity and change are inseparable in history.

⁴⁹ Jane Elizabeth Jones, *The Young Abolitionists; or, Conversations on Slavery* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1848). The quote is from a note on the New York Public Library’s bibliographic record for the volume: see <http://catnyp.nypl.org>.

⁵⁰ “Elizabeth Oakes Prince Smith,” *American Women Writers*, 2:248-50.

⁵¹ “Frances Dana Barker Gage,” *American Women Writers*, 1: 242-44.

Author Biography

Darwin H. Stapleton has been Executive Director of the Rockefeller Archive Center since 1986. After receiving his doctorate in history from the University of Delaware, where he was a Hagley Fellow, 1969-75, he joined the Department of History at Case Western University.

Stapleton's publications include (with Donna Heckman Stapleton), *Dignity, Discourse, and Destiny: The Life of Courtney C. Smith* (2004), *The Transfer of Early Industrial Technologies to America* (1987), *The History of Civil Engineering since 1600* (1986), and *Accounts of European Science, Technology, and Medicine Written by American Travelers Abroad, 1735-1860* (1985), as well as articles on urban history, the history of education and philanthropy, and the history of technology, science and medicine.

For two years, 1970-72, Stapleton was a settlement house worker in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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The Philanthropy Classics Access Project

Over the past three decades more than two hundred institutions world-wide have established research centers, programs, and courses relating to philanthropy, voluntarism, nonprofit organizations, and civil society. Unfortunately, many of the classic books and articles, essential to understanding these fields, are long out of print.

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The editors are particularly grateful to our Editorial Board, a group of distinguished scholars who recommended works worthy of inclusion in the series, and to the funders who have generously supported the project.

Peter Dobkin Hall

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Introduction to the Philanthropy Classics Access Project Edition

This volume of essays was assembled for distribution at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago by the Committee on Literature of the Board of Women Managers of the State of New York. All of the states of the United States had been asked to form boards to support the program of the Women's Department of the exposition, and New York created one of the most active ones.¹ The program of the Women's Building, which was intended to represent women in all of the United States, was placed fully under a 117-member Board of Lady Managers, an unusual arrangement in an era when men usually regarded women as incapable of carrying out management responsibilities by themselves. The advanced role of women in the city's civic affairs, relative to the rest of the nation, was undoubtedly the reason why the Exposition's male leadership made that decision.²

One of the earliest acts of the Women Managers was to select a woman, a recent graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to design the Women's Building.³ In addition to housing exhibits, the Women's Building was also the site of frequent conferences, speeches and discussions on matters of

importance to women.⁴ One contemporary observer commented, "the constitution of the United States guarantees to everyone the right to pursue happiness; the [Woman's Building at the] Exposition is to show how woman is succeeding in making this pursuit effective."⁵ According to one historian, "the effect of the [exposition] experience on many of the women participants was electric."⁶

This volume contributed to the ferment of the Women's Building by documenting the role of New York's women in philanthropic activities, locally, nationally and internationally, and by demonstrating women's literary skill. The women of New York had a special reason to contribute a publication because they "had the honor of decorating and furnishing the Library of the Women's Building."⁷ The contributors to the volume, all women, ranged from several whose commitment to social reform had its origins in the antebellum anti-slavery movement, to those of a later generation who had found their civic calling in the settlement house movement of the late 1880s. Together they represent a spectrum of involvement in a traditional women's activity –

¹ "New York State Board of Women," *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated* 3 (August 1893): 152.

² Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 416.

³ Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: A 100-year Retrospective* (Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 416. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992), p. 42.

⁴ "Women's Department," in Trumbull White and William Ingleheart, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Co., 1893), p. 454.

⁵ François Edmond Bruwaert, "Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition," in Bessie Louise Pierce, ed., *As Others See Chicago: Impressions of Visitors, 1673-1933*. Reprint ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 336.

⁶ Anne Firor Scott, "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 43-44 (quote on p. 44).

⁷ Blanche Wilder Bellamy, "General Introduction," in Frances A. Goodale, ed., *The Literature of Philanthropy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893), p. viii.

philanthropy – that had evolved into a springboard for advancing both women’s interests and social causes in New York, the United States, and the world.

Context

The year in which *The Literature of Philanthropy* appeared, 1893, was arguably a watershed period in American history. Formally, the exposition celebrated the four hundred years since Christopher Columbus began the European exploration and settlement of the New World, but in actuality it was a celebration of the mushrooming economic growth and political power of the United States. The city in which it was held, Chicago, had in the six decades since its founding become one of the world’s great commercial emporiums. Fully recovered from the great fire of 1873, Chicago’s railroads, banks and industries were in control of one of the richest agricultural and industrial hinterlands on the globe. As evidence of its leadership, the city’s downtown recently had given birth to the world’s first skyscrapers.⁸

Chicago represented the young giant that the American nation had become. The United States had the world’s greatest railroad network, and Chicago had become its greatest railroad hub; America had become the most important producer of iron and steel in the world, and Chicago’s metropolitan region contained some of the greatest and most advanced iron and steel works. The United States was exporting beef, wheat, corn, petroleum products and manufactured goods (such as sewing machines, agricultural implements, and electrical equipment) worldwide, and much of that trade flowed outward from Chicago to New York, and then to the world.

⁸ Miller, *City of the Century*, pp. 89-121, 143-158, 301-377.

This enormous economic activity in a capitalist society was creating concentrations of enormous wealth, particularly in America’s leading cities. Such titans as Andrew Carnegie, Collis P. Huntington, John J. Hill, Henry Clay Frick, and John D. Rockefeller had amassed much of their storied industrial fortunes. They were men who easily bent to their will the unregulated market and the weak government of the time. In this “Gilded Age” the raw power of money was visible everywhere, as well as the consequences of the lack of it.⁹

The economic power of the business titans gave them virtually unlimited authority over armies of workers, among whom only the elite craft workers had developed the counterweight of union combinations that provided some control over wages, hours, and working conditions. Most workers were at the mercy of economic conditions: in good times they had work (and 60-72 hour work weeks), in bad times they had little to fall back on but the mercies of the more fortunate. America in the 1890s was well aware of the inequalities between capital and labor, and the conflicts it engendered. The Haymarket Square riot (1886) and the Pullman strike (1894) in Chicago, and the swelling poverty in New York City were evidence that American society had class and labor problems, but few workable answers were offered.¹⁰

Globally the United States was beginning to find its place among the world’s imperial nations. While still without a

⁹ Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America*, Rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 129-180. Many of the business titans were philanthropic, although “the motives of donors and purposes of their gifts defy generalization”: Robert H. Bremner, *The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), p. 214.

¹⁰ Cochran and Miller, *The Age of Enterprise*, pp. 228-236.

significant military establishment, a naval rearmament program begun in the 1880s was demonstrated its potential strength. In any case the United States was only five years from initiating a war with Spain from which it acquired the two-ocean empire that gave it status with the European powers.

For all of these signs of growth and power, 1893 also was the year of the beginning of greatest economic downturn in the United States prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s. By the winter of 1893-94 Americans were being called on to respond to what one group of eminent citizens in New York City described as “the present pressing want.”¹¹ It was also a time when hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrived annually on American shores, many crowding into American cities in a desperate search for a better life. A century later many immigrant neighborhoods were remembered with affection, and referred to as the birthplaces of ethnic American identities, but stories in this volume echo those told by contemporaries such as Jacob Riis in *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), who reported on the squalid (if sometimes heroic) lives of the residents of tenement districts in New York City.

This was also the era of resurgence and recrystallization of racism in America. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the United State Supreme Court decision that gave racial segregation legal authority throughout the nation, was only three years in the future. This was not a sudden change The end of slavery had been followed by only modest civil rights victories for African-Americans In the 1880s and 1890s, even such rights were eroded by Jim Crow laws in the American South, and by the growing customs of racial division in

¹¹ J. Pierpont Morgan, et al., to John D. Rockefeller, 20 February 1894, folder 218, box 28, John D. Rockefeller Office Correspondence (hereafter JDR Office Correspondence), Record Group 1, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.

the North and Midwest. In New York City, for example, “The People’s Seaside Home,” a site on Coney Island where the working poor and the sick were offered a day of “pure air, sea bathing, and wholesome food,” was careful to note in 1891 that it arranged for “parties composed exclusively of COLORED PEOPLE” in addition to its regular program.¹² In this last decade of the century the United States was entering a dark era of race relations, in which a spectrum of actions – from lynchings, to legalized discrimination, to film and radio caricatures – were means of stigmatizing non-Whites in order to keep them in a subservient caste.

Native Americans were included in the category of “other,” and had little to expect from a nation that officially regarded them as dependents of the state. The report of the United States Bureau of the Census for 1890 had declared that there was no longer a North American frontier, in a sense making it clear that indigenous people no longer had a homeland. In the same year the United States cavalry conducted its last action of the Indian wars, slaughtering nearly 250 Lakota Sioux at Wounded Knee.¹³ Native Americans were viewed with little sympathy by most white North Americans – they were alternatively considered to be one of the world’s aboriginal, uncivilized races, more of a scientific curiosity than a threat, a group of savage bands whose antagonism to economic and technological progress doomed them to extinction;

¹² “An Ocean Party. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The People’s Seaside Home, West Coney Island. (New York: New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 1891), attachment to F. L. Longworth to John D. Rockefeller, 6 June 1892, folder 192, box 25, JDR Office Correspondence, capitals in the original.

¹³ Roger L. Nichols, *American Indians in U.S. History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), pp. 145-46.

or as child-like supplicants who were allowed to live on the generosity of enlightened whites.¹⁴

Some of European ancestry were treated in much the same way. Those convicted of serious criminal acts were sent to “penitentiaries,” or “reformatories,” presumably to encourage them to meditate on their behavior and have the opportunity to atone for their misdeeds. However, in spite of developing some relatively progressive approaches to the housing and treatment of prisoners in the mid-nineteenth century, by 1893 American society showed little interest in redemption and a great deal of inclination toward punishment. Draconian regimes of hard labor, frequently resulting in injury, disfigurement or death, were the most common approaches toward management of convicts; rehabilitation or some other means of reconciling convicts to society were sometimes official policy, but seldom carried out.¹⁵

The handicapped (to use a twenty-first-century term) who were in institutions (most in this era were cared for in households by their families) fared little better than the criminals. Hard work, which in this era seemed to be the preferred regime for anyone in a custodial situation, was the standard prescription for those capable of it rather than training or schooling.¹⁶ The blind were seldom afforded any special treatment until educational systems of French

¹⁴ A contemporary (1881) critique of the treatment of Indians was recently republished as: Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: The Classic Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003) .

¹⁵ Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977), pp. 170-96.

¹⁶ Kathleen McCarthy views these attitudes as originating in Jacksonian America. See Kathleen D. McCarthy, *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700-1865* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 168.

origin filtered into American society in the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the century a few schools for the blind were sprinkled across the nation, sometimes tax-supported, and sometimes established through philanthropy.¹⁷

Women and Philanthropy

Throughout the essays in this book are direct and implied references to the nineteenth-century history of American women in philanthropic causes. Although even in colonial times American women at times were involved in organizing and managing philanthropic institutions, noticeable change occurred in the early 1800s. With variation by region, women regularly began to create voluntary and nonprofit organizations, usually associated with religious institutions. These new organizations were supported largely by donations, but when they appeared to serve the public weal they sometimes were supported by public funds.¹⁸

Often women found that taking roles in the organizations spawned by the major Protestant denominations provided the footholds necessary for establishing networks of like-minded women. By 1840, even though they were “a comparatively new phenomena,” charitable institutions organized by women had become commonplace. They were based on women’s increasing claims that they “had a legitimate place in public affairs on the basis of their superior morality and the ‘natural’ concern they felt whenever issues that affected women and children were raised.” Therefore “orphan asylums, temperance, and missionary activity

¹⁷ Frances A. Koestler, *The Unseen Minority: A Social History of Blindness in the United States* (New York: David McKay, 1976). pp. 95-96, 410.

¹⁸ Kathleen D. McCarthy, “Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere,” in McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful*, pp. 4-6, McCarthy, *American Creed*, pp. 142.

all fell within this enlarged definition of women's place."¹⁹ Women also became leaders in the anti-slavery movement that developed in the 1830s, and continued to have significant roles in the movement right up to emancipation.²⁰

The American Civil War provided a opportunity for women to get involved in public service activities, particularly through the United States Sanitary Commission that provided support services and medical aid to northern troops. While men were the legal leaders of the Sanitary Commission "women... contributed their administrative and fund-raising skills, with impressive results. Over seven thousand soldier's aid auxiliaries eventually joined the commission's networks, helping to gather and distribute more than \$15 million...in supplies for the Union troops."²¹ Similar services were undertaken by southern women to support the Confederate cause. Overall, a generation of American women gained experience in voluntary action and in nonprofit organization.

In the latter nineteenth century there grew up an established sphere of women's philanthropic activity and, at the same time, particular means of keeping women in their place. Through their determined actions women created a range of institutions, from women's colleges (requiring substantial fund-raising and long-term commitments) to local women's clubs (which might not outlast the enthusiasm of the first members), that often engendered philanthropic actions. But these same organizations often had

¹⁹ Michael D. Pierson, *Free Hearts and Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), pp. 11-12.

²⁰ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), pp. 41-52.

²¹ McCarthy, *American Creed*, pp. 193-94.

male patrons, and when more highly organized, boards of male supporters, who took on such legal functions as were necessary, or – equally important in a patriarchal society – maintained male oversight over a gender thought to tend toward over-excitement and failure of logical thinking. Whatever the protests of women whose experience demonstrated that they could carry out their good works perfectly well on their own, in the late nineteenth century as a practical matter philanthropically-inclined women knew that they were working in a world controlled by legal and social systems that gave them few rights. At the time this volume was published national suffrage was more than a quarter-century in the future.

Moreover, men of the era were perfectly willing to concede to women considerable latitude in the realm of philanthropy, believing that it was a proper and even God-given exercise of their abilities. As one sympathetic contemporary American male writer put it:

In the field of charity, women's work stands as a brilliant example of sacrifice and generosity. Her fitness for this work is emphasized throughout all of the old Hebrew writings...In these days, woman, if anything, is an organizer, and emphasizes that fact at meetings, clubs, and congresses, but she does not forget, however great may be her interest in the questions of political equality, temperance, or dress reform, that the greatest of her duties is charity.²²

²² William C. King, *The World's Progress as Wrought by Men and Women in Art, Literature, Education, Philanthropy, Reform, Inventions, Business and Professional Life* (Springfield, MA: King-Richardson Publishing Co., 1896), p. 373.

The evangelical impulse in Protestantism also served these women well, notwithstanding their faith commitment, in that their enthusiasm for saving souls served to excuse whatever unladylike activities that were required. Visiting prisons, living among the Indians, going into slum housing, associating with the underclass, and even political activity could be understood as the necessary, if deplorable, accompaniments of missionary activity. Thus, *The Literature of Philanthropy* contains vivid descriptions of some of the worst aspects of human behavior as well as depictions of personal sacrifice, perseverance, and commitment to public welfare.

Contributors

The contributors are a mixed lot, viewed from the perspective of the early twenty-first century. Some were leaders of social reform movements; many had significant literary skills; several were educators, one was a physician, and the backgrounds of several are obscure.

Editors

Biographical details for the editor of this volume, Frances A. Goodale, are sketchy. In 1893 she lived in Utica, New York with her husband, John A. Goodale, a banker. In that same year she founded and was elected the first president of the New Century Club, a women's club in Utica. She was later the co-editor of a history of Utica. By 1900 she and her husband had moved to New York City. Why she was selected to edit this volume, the degree to which she was responsible for selecting the contributors, and whether or not she was active in social reform, are facts apparently lost to history.²³

²³ Personal communication from Robert Quist, Utica Public Library, May 19, 2005; Elizabeth Gilman Brown, Ida Butcher and Frances Abigail Goodale, eds.,

Blanche Wilder Bellamy

We know much more about Blanche Wilder Bellamy, the editor of Harper and Brothers' "Distaff Series" in which this volume appeared, and the author of the introduction to this volume. Named for a tool for the home-spinning of thread, a task that was identified with women from colonial times into the nineteenth century, the series was specifically issued as "a contribution to the Columbian Exhibition." It consisted of six volumes of essays edited by women.²⁴ Bellamy wrote an introduction for at least one other volume of the series.²⁵

Bellamy was a member of the Board of Women Managers of the State of New York for the World's Columbian Exposition and Chairman of its Committee on Literature. According to the official magazine of the exposition, Bellamy assembled 2500 books for the New York library in the Women's Building, and "in a brief and comprehensive address Mrs. Bellamy presented the library to the Board of Lady Managers." She was also regarded as "one of the most distinguished and accomplished women" on the New York board.²⁶

Outline History of Utica and Vicinity, Prepared by a Committee of the New Century Club (Utica, NY: L.C. Childs & Sons, 1900).

²⁴ "Notes," *The Nation* 56 (May 25, 1893): 385. Between the half-title and the full title of the original edition of *The Literature of Philanthropy* there is an advertisement for the six volumes in the Distaff Series.

²⁵ Review of *Woman and the Higher Education*, *The Nation* 57 (September 28, 1893): 234.

²⁶ "New York State Board of Women," *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated* 3 (August 1893): 152.

A native of New York, Bellamy had graduated from Vassar College in 1873. In 1879 she married Frederick P. Bellamy, and had one son. Her commitment to women's interests was demonstrated by her service to Barnard College, of which she was an associate trustee, and to the Brooklyn Hospital Training School for Nurses, of which she was vice-president for ten years. She also was active with the YWCA and the Twentieth Century Club of New York.²⁷ She was the co-author (with Maud Wilder Goodwin, another contributor, and probably her sister) of a popular school text, *Open Sesame! Poetry and Prose for School-Days*, and author of *Ten English Poets*, a collection of biographical sketches. She was a frequent contributor to popular magazines.

Bellamy's literary bent probably put her in contact with several of this volume's contributors who were clearly in literary circles, particularly Elaine Goodale Eastman, Fannie W. McLean, and Mrs. Frederic Rhineland Jones (see below). [Delete? Since it's speculative; two others, Laura M. Doolittle and Helen Moore, also may have been writers.²⁸]

²⁷ *Who Was Who in America*, vol. 4 (Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1968), p. 74; John William Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York: American Commonwealth, 1914), p. 92; "Notes," *The Nation* 69 (July 20, 1899): 52.

²⁸ Laura M. Doolittle, "Matches," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 42 (December 1870): 117-120; Helen Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1886). Doolittle's article contains a detailed description of a match factory which notes that the factory's workforce was composed of a number of children and fifty immigrant women. I have not been able to connect either of these earlier publications with the contributors to this volume of the same names.

Reformers: Prisoners and Consumers

Josephine Shaw Lowell (1843-1905) is one of the most famous American women reformers of the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁹ Born in West Roxbury, near Boston, Massachusetts, she moved with her family to Staten Island, New York in 1848. Her parents were wealthy enough to spend five years in France and Italy, 1851-56, where as a young girl she was educated. During the American Civil War, in which her family was committed to the Union cause because of their abolitionist sympathies, she was involved in philanthropic causes. A lifelong Unitarian, her charitable activities were informed by her faith. In 1864 her husband of one year, Charles Russell Lowell, died of wounds received while serving in the Union army; the year before her brother was killed while leading African-American troops.³⁰ Immediately after the war she assisted with the development of freedman's schools in Virginia.

Lowell became most noted for her commitment to prison reform, which began while serving on a committee for Staten Island of the Prison Association of the State of New York. In 1876 Governor Tilden appointed her to the State Board of Charities, where she pursued numerous improvements. She argued in favor

²⁹ The most valuable of several biographical sketches of Lowell are those in *The Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America*. Walter I. Trattner, ed. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 511-515; *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*. 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971), 2: 437-39; and Robert H. Bremner, "Lowell, Josephine Shaw," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*. 24 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14: 45-45. A recent full-scale biography is Joan Waugh's *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³⁰ The Civil War career of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw was dramatized in the motion picture *Glory* (1989)

of supporting self-reliant, sober workers, and aiming the state's charitable efforts at helping the pauperized move into that class. She is credited with persuading the state to establish a separate prison for women, in 1881.³¹ She resigned from the board in 1889, "declaring that helping workers 'before they go under' was better than 'fishing them out when they are half drowned and taking care of them afterward!'"³²

Lowell was instrumental in founding the Charity Organization of New York (1882), which attempted to rationalize the distribution of funds to the city's aid organizations. Subsequently Lowell founded the Consumer's League of New York (1890), and was active in aid to the unemployed in New York City during the economic depression of 1893-94. She supported the rights of workers to strike for better wages, and late in life was vice-president of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York.

Reformers: Tenements and Immigrants

Jean Fine Spahr (b. 1861), an 1883 graduate of Smith College, joined other Smith graduates in forming the College Settlements Association in 1887 to promote the establishment of settlement houses modeled on Toynbee Hall in London. Having had several years of teaching experience in Kentucky and New York, in November 1888 she joined with Jane E. Robbins to begin the work that led to the founding of the College Settlement in New

York City, the second of that city's settlement houses. On September 1, 1889 they established a base at 95 Rivington Street on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Fine became the settlement's head resident, and served until July 1892, when she resigned because of her marriage to Charles B. Spahr, an editor of the *Outlook*, a religious periodical that in the 1890s became a voice for social reform. They had five daughters. Although Jean Spahr left the staff of the settlement, she remained on its board of trustees.³³

Fannie Williams McLean was a native of San Francisco, California, and graduated from the University of California. After teaching high school in Berkeley, California, 1886-1890, she worked at the College Settlement in Philadelphia and the College Settlement in New York from 1891 to 1893. Returning to California to continue her teaching career, she also wrote for various magazines.³⁴

The backgrounds of Helen Moore and Dr. Mary Damon, who contributed to this volume essays on work in the New York City tenements, are obscure. Moore may have been the author of a biography of British feminist Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, who is best known as the author of *Frankenstein*.³⁵ Damon, as a trained female physician, was in a distinct minority of the American

³¹ Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977), p. 165; Bremner, *The Public Good*, pp. 173-74, 205-06.

³² Quoted in Bremner, "Lowell, Josephine Shaw," 14: 46.

³³ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, pp. 767-68; Domenica M. Barbuto, *American Settlement Houses and Progressive Social Reform: An Encyclopedia of the American Settlement Movement* (Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press, 1999), pp. 75, 162; Harry P. Kraus, *The Settlement House Movement in New York City, 1886-1914* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 68-70, 70n, 134.

³⁴ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 528; "College Settlement (Philadelphia)," in Barbuto, ed., *American Settlement Houses*, pp. 52-53.

³⁵ Helen Moore, *Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1886).

medical profession in the late nineteenth century; only 4,555 women physicians were recorded in the United States Census of 1890.³⁶

Somewhat more is known about Agnes L. Brennan, identified in this volume as Superintendent of the Bellevue (Hospital) Training School for Nurses. The Bellevue school, founded in 1873 as the first nursing school in the United States, was an integral unit of the Bellevue Hospital in New York City. It was known for its leadership in setting nursing education standards.³⁷ Brennan, a native of Ireland, was an 1882 graduate of the school, and soon after was appointed Assistant Superintendent; she became Superintendent in 1888 and served in that position until 1902.³⁸

Reformers: Native Americans

Fortified by Christian convictions, Amelia Stone Quinton spent a lifetime in reform movements, much of it seeking to improve conditions for native Americans.³⁹ Born near Syracuse,

³⁶ King, *The World's Progress*, p. 183.

³⁷ Mary M. Roberts, *American Nursing: History and Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1954), pp. 11-12; Susan Armeny, "'Organized Nurses, Woman Philanthropists, and the Intellectual Bases for Cooperation Among Women, 1898-1920,'" Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, ed., *Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1983), pp. 17-18.

³⁸ Notes on the life of Agnes S. Brennan, folder 4, box 1, Bellevue Alumnae Association Records (MC19), Bellevue Alumnae Center for Nursing History, Foundation of the New York State Nurses Association, Guilderland, New York. This reference is courtesy of Rachel Donaldson, archivist, Bellevue Alumnae Center for Nursing History.

³⁹ Standard biographical sketches of Quinton include: Sara Romeyn and Michelle E. Osborn, "Quinton,

New York, she became a teacher in New York, Georgia and Pennsylvania. Settling in the latter state after a brief marriage ended with her husband's death, she became active in the temperance movement in the 1870s. During a trip to Europe in 1877 she met and married her second husband, the Rev. Richard L. Quinton, who returned to the United States with her. In 1879 she became involved in supporting Indian rights to their lands in Oklahoma, which were coveted by prospective settlers. With her friend Mary L. Bonney, and others she founded the Women's National Indian Association in 1883. She became the association's president in 1887 and served in that role for many years. For the rest of her life she was a leader of those in White society who were interested in Indian welfare.

Quinton believed that the Indians' salvation lay in adopting the values and way of life of White society and culture, beginning with land ownership and formal education. She regarded much of Indian culture as barbaric, and wanted it to be replaced with Christianity, a strong domestic life patterned on European models, and a commitment to the market economy.⁴⁰ She opposed those who believed that Native Americans were inherently inferior and were destined to die out as a people.

In her remarks at the annual meeting of the Women's National Indian Association in 1892 she celebrated

Amelia Stone," in Garraty and Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, 18: 47-48; Irene Joanne Westing, "Quinton, Amelia Stone," in James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women*, 3: 108-110.

⁴⁰ In an 1893 letter to Frederick T. Gates, she refers to the need to evangelize the "heathen Indians": Amelia S. Quinton to F.T. Gates, 26 May 1893, folder 244, box 32, JDR Office Correspondence.

the fact that 200,000 of the 250,000 Indians of the country are self-supporting by civilized avocations; ... that the duty of freeing Indians from their disabilities is everywhere acknowledged, and best of all, that the Indians themselves are now demanding and worthily using their rights.⁴¹

Elaine Goodale Eastman

Born in Massachusetts in 1863, Eastman early showed a talent for writing, publishing three volumes of poems co-authored with her sister (Dora Read Goodale) beginning in 1878. Her family moved to New York City in 1883, but Eastman soon took a teaching position at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. There she began writing about Indian matters for the Institute's newspaper, and in 1885 took a six-week tour of the Dakota Territory. The next year she took a position as a government teacher among the Sioux, and in 1890 became the superintendent of all Indian schools in the new states of North and South Dakota.

During 1890 Eastman wrote numerous articles on Indian matters. She also met Charles Alexander Eastman, a Santee Sioux working on the Dakota reservation who was educated at Dartmouth College and who later graduated from medical school at Boston University. They married in 1891 and Eastman left her teaching career in favor of raising a family, which eventually included six children. She continued to publish essays and books, and eventually became the editor of the newspaper of the Carlisle (Pennsylvania) Indian School. According to one critic, Eastman's writing focused on the "dominant themes [of] ... woman as giver,

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Philadelphia: Women's National Indian Association, 1892), p. 10.

the painful joy of loving, the noble vanishing Indian, and intercultural understanding."⁴²

A Literary Set

Two of the volume's contributors are best known for their literary skills.⁴³

Maud Wilder Goodwin

Goodwin (1856-1935) was born in Ballston Spa, New York. She married Almon Goodwin in 1879 and had two daughters. She was an author of popular poetry, articles and books, including, about the time of this publication, two on colonial Virginia, and *Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times: Dolly Madison* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896). She was the co-editor, with Blanche Wilder Goodwin (probably her sister, above), of *Open Sesame: Poetry and Prose for School-Days*.⁴⁴

⁴² Lina Mainiero, ed., *American Women Writers*. 4 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1979), 1:189; Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 267; Goodale, Dora Read, "Who's Who in America, 1901-02" (Chicago: Marquis, 1901), p. 440.

⁴³ No information has been located to identify further Julia Margaret Fuller Lloyd, whose essay "The Negro and Civilization" describes her as "an American woman of the South," nor on Laura M. Doolittle. A writer with the latter name contributed an article on "Matches," to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 42 (December 1870): 117-120. It contains a detailed description of a match factory and notes that the factory's workforce was composed of a number of children and fifty immigrant women.

⁴⁴ Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 334; Maud Wilder Goodwin, *The Colonial Cavalier, or Southern Life before the Revolution* (New York: Coryell & Co., 1894); Maud Wilder Goodwin, ed., *The Head of a Hundred: Being an Account of Certain Passages in the life of Humphrey Huntoon, Esq., Sometime an Officer in the Colony of Virginia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1895).

Mrs. Frederic Rhineland Jones (Mary Cadwalader Rawle Jones)

Jones was born to the blue-blood Rawle family of Philadelphia. She married Frederic Rhineland Jones of New York, and moved there, joining an elite circle of literary and artistic figures. She became the literary agent for Edith Wharton. Jones, her husband, and their daughter, Beatrix, were on the invitation list for Mrs. William B. Astor's ball in February 1892, certifying them as members of New York City's social elite. Beatrix Cadwalader Jones became a leading American landscape architect.⁴⁵

Extracts

The editor chose to include in the volume, under the heading "The Antislavery Struggle," extracts from the writings of six women from New York who had roles in the antislavery movement. The ultimate success of that movement – though three decades in the past – was obviously fresh in the minds of American women engaged in other reform projects in 1893.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were long-time compatriots in antislavery work and in agitation for women's rights. They have remained icons of American history. Stanton (1815-1902) was born in Johnstown, New York, and attended Emma Willard's seminary in Troy, New York. Attracted to the

antislavery and temperance movements, she married a staunch abolitionist, and in spite of the burdens of having seven children, became an active reformer. Often working with Susan B. Anthony, she took on a range of social issues, but like Anthony, after the Civil War concentrated on women's rights, including the right to vote. After the death of her husband in 1887 Stanton lived in New York City.⁴⁶ Anthony (1820-1906) was born in Massachusetts, but lived in the upper Hudson River and Mohawk River valleys of New York from age six. Raised according to Quaker tenets, she easily absorbed the reform enthusiasms dominant in the region and became active in the temperance, anti-slavery, and women's rights movements. After strongly supporting the Union side during the Civil War she turned her attentions to women's suffrage; she became a national leader of the movement, and served that cause for the rest of her life.⁴⁷

Lesser known to Americans are the other four writers quoted. Ernestine Louise Silsmondi Potowski (1810-1892) was a native of Poland. She married William E. Rose in England in 1829, and emigrated to the United States in 1836, settling in New York. Already an activist in England, she was active in reform movements, and is reported to have lectured on abolition and women's rights, among other subjects. She also "attended nearly every N[ew] Y[ork] state and national convention relating to women's rights, 1850-1869."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Catha Grace Rambusch, "Farrand, Beatrix Cadwalader Jones," *American National Biography*, 7: 733-34; "Original list of Mrs. [William B.] Astor's guests to her ball in February 1892, as given by Mr. Ward McAllister to the New York Times," at www.raken.com/american_wealth/encyclopedia/Mrs_Astors_400.asp, site visited March 3, 2005.

⁴⁶ Alma Lutz, "Stanton, Elizabeth Cady," in *Notable American Women*, 3: 342-47.

⁴⁷ Alma Lutz, "Anthony, Susan Brownell," in *Notable American Women*, 1: 51-57.

⁴⁸ "Rose, Ernestine Louise Silsmondi Potowski," in *Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume, 1607-1896*, Rev. ed. (Chicago: Marquis – Who's Who, 1967), H: 525.

J. Elizabeth Jones published a tract in 1848, *The Young Abolitionists; or Conversations on Slavery*, that “embodies all of the Garrisonian abolition philosophy.”⁴⁹

Elizabeth Oakes Prince Smith (1806-1893) was a native of Maine; she married Seba Smith in 1823 when she was still a teenager. She and her husband moved to New York City in 1837 and “took their places in that city’s literary circles.” Smith was an active reformer, and attended the Seneca Falls women’s rights convention of 1848 and later women’s meetings. In 1877 she became a minister of an independent protestant congregation in Canastota, New York. Throughout her life she published a variety of works of fiction and non-fiction.⁵⁰

Frances Dana Barker Gage (1808-1880) was raised in rural Ohio. Her parents were abolitionists who aided fugitive slaves. She married and had eight children, and took up writing in part to support her family. She was a reformer who was president of the Akron (Ohio) women’s convention of 1851, supported freed slaves during the Civil War, and later in life supported women’s suffrage.⁵¹

Conclusion

Readers of this volume are entering a kind of time capsule of American history. They have the opportunity to enter into the year 1893, and to experience in particular the views of women social reformers, who brought their critiques, analyses,

experiences, hopes and dreams to an audience in Chicago that was expected to be representative of the world. Some of these views may seem quite similar to those of the early twenty-first century: issues relating to criminality and penology, urban congestion and poverty, public health, minorities and the disabled are still with us. Other views that readers will encounter, such regarding “industry and thrift” as the fundamental solution to problems, and the expectation that the common good can be secured by overriding individual rights, may seem oversimplified or antique. And some matters, including women’s suffrage, are curiously absent from the discussions.

Thus readers may experience simultaneously a sense of *déjà vu*, and a sense that we have learned more about the limits and benefits of democratic processes over the last century. Continuity and change are inseparable in history.

Author Biography

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⁴⁹ Jane Elizabeth Jones, *The Young Abolitionists; or, Conversations on Slavery* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1848). The quote is from a note on the New York Public Library’s bibliographic record for the volume: see <http://catnyp.nypl.org>.

⁵⁰ “Elizabeth Oakes Prince Smith,” *American Women Writers*, 2:248-50.

⁵¹ “Frances Dana Barker Gage,” *American Women Writers*, 1: 242-44.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE series of collections, of which this volume is a part, is made up of representative work of the women of the State of New York in periodical literature.

This literature has been classified under its conspicuous divisions—Poetry, Fiction, History, Art, Biography, Translation, Literary Criticism, and the like.

A woman of eminent success in each department has then been asked to make a collection of representative work in that department; to include in it an example of her own work, and to place her name upon the volume as its Editor.

These selections have been made, as far as possible, chronologically, beginning with the earliest work of the century, in order that the volumes may carry out the plan of the

"Exhibit of Women's Work in Literature in the State of New York," of which they are an original part.

The aim of this Exhibit was to make a record of literary work, limited, through necessity, both by sex and locality, but, as far as possible, accurate and complete, and to preserve this record in the State Library in the Capitol at Albany.

It includes twenty-five hundred books, beginning with the works of Charlotte Ramsay Lennox, the first-born female author of the province of New York, published in London in 1759, closing with the pages of a translation of Herder, still wet from the press, and comprising the works of almost every author in the intervening one hundred and forty years.

It includes also three hundred papers read before the literary clubs of the State, a summary of the work of all writers for the press, and the folios which preserve the work of many able women who have not published books.

The women of the State of New York have had the honor of decorating and furnishing the Library of the Women's Building. Believing

the best equipment of a library to be literature, they have therefore prepared this Exhibit; and have made its character comprehensive and historic, in order that it may not be temporary, but that it may be preserved in the State Library, and may have permanent value for future lovers and students of Americana.

BLANCHE WILDER BELLAMY,
*Chairman of the Committee on Literature
of the Board of Women Managers of the
State of New York.*

THE LITERATURE OF
PHILANTHROPY

THE LITERATURE OF PHILANTHROPY.

BY FRANCES A. GOODALE.

THE written record of philanthropic movements, individual or collective, crude or systematic, is its unit of value in guiding or in warning fresh philanthropic impulses and new undertakings. He who would choose, if circumstances have not chosen for him, that which, among the different lines of good work, he can do and ought to do, may find in printed record a glorious list of man's humanities to man, all crying: Come over and help us! For although humane impulse be instinctive, as ancient as human society, although tenderness for the sufferer together with yearning pain over the sinner followed hard upon the loss of innocence, yet only Literature has preserved the story. She chronicles mistakes, warns of pitfalls, and notes what methods have brought blessing.

Literature has done more than compilation-service. She has brought Philan-

thropy out of the chaos of occasional and often misdirected pity into organic structure, with regulating mechanism and obedient members, with nerves quick to receive sensations of comfort or distress, and other nerves that transmit the message to governing brain-bureau. Literature has brought Philanthropy from the inorganic to the organic, from the letter which kills to the law which gives life. Nature has no mercy upon foolish good intentions, and never interposes to prevent their harvest of harm. It is Nature's inexorable law that undisciplined Charity shall not bless; that unwise Love shall never be beneficent; that Wisdom is born of Experience. Now experience recorded is Literature; and it is written that Philanthropy cannot be divorced from Education nor from Religion. The three are one. They are under one law, they serve one master, they bring one gospel. All aim to deliver men from the shackles of sense by the victory of the spirit; all recognize the equal need of reasoning mind and feeling heart in their work of extirpating sin and bringing redemption.

Ours is a period of seething and struggle. From all trades and professions, from society, even from the children one hears complaint

of the complexities and the over-demands of life. Life's complexity has increased in the slums, in the jails, and hospitals—complexity of nervous system, of temptations and of suffering there, as among the happier classes. In order to meet these harder conditions, to divert movements which threaten revolution and retrogression, in order to build up noble national character upon the only sure basis, that of noble individual character, partition of interests between rich and poor must be broken down. Both must sincerely recognize the eternal reciprocity of joy and sorrow, of loss and gain; there must seem to be and there *must be*, alike for both, one law, one country, one patriotism.

It is this characteristic of federation of interests and personal intercourse, this quality of identification, which underlies the Tenement Neighborhood idea. It differs from other lines of philanthropic work in this, that it seems almost beyond possibility to take it out of private and individual hands, and to organize and direct it systematically, without loss of the human-brotherhood motive and prejudice to the individuality and the self-respect of the poor. Slaves and Indians were under such manifestly peculiar conditions that it did them no harm

to treat their wrongs *en bloc*, erecting relief and reform into a system. Criminals, too, to a certain degree, may be treated as a class apart, put there by their own acts, and a science of Criminology become thereby practicable. But with the poor it is different. Want and bodily ailment are not the worst evils encountered in the tenement, but individual ambition paralyzed, conscience calloused, self-respect lost. These are symptoms of degeneracy and moral death of the individual; they present desperate menace to the State, and call for treatment at once resolute, tender, and silent. Three agencies of reform represent the most profound hopes of this nineteenth century. They are, first, the monition of the crucified One, exemplified by himself to the uttermost: Love thy neighbor as thyself. Second, the physiological regimen of cleanliness and sunshine, enforced by such opinion as that of the eminent English physician, Alfred Carpenter, who said of the worst born specimens of children in a great Reform School, "They seem to teach us that not even one generation of change is required to wipe out a generation of defects when personal health is well looked after." The third remedial agency is the Manual Training School, bring-

ing interests into the children's lives, who "learn by doing."

The accompanying papers in this volume present a brief summing-up of work already done, change effected, ends not yet compassed, and further help needed; the present statistics, in short, of the more prominent among the many enterprises organized "to bear Our Father's message to the largest household on earth, the household of affliction." They are presented by women who have thought as well as worked. The stories are variations of one great theme: the invariable, close interdependence and inseparable interests of the different members of the Body Social.

How Literature moves the world to Philanthropy let the jail-delivery wrought by Charles Dickens tell; the moans of prisoners that died unheard until Charles Reade became their mouth-piece; the piteous plight of the Red Men fallen among thieves, until good literature and bad, Helen Hunt and Congressional records of proposed legislative iniquity, alike summoned a protesting corps of good samaritans. Let the searchlight witness flashed upon slavery's horrors by Harriet Beecher Stowe; the dormant patriotism fired by Hosea Biglow; the voi-

cing by Julia Ward Howe, in the glorious "Battle Hymn of the Republic," of a nation's spontaneous consecration to the cause of righteousness—these all attest specific deliverances wrought when Philanthropy and Literature worked hand in hand.

What inspiration to courage and to zealous work, what rebuke to despondency lies in the record of the Society for the Abolition of Human Slavery, now closed in honor and success, with "Finis" stamped upon its seal! No enterprise would seem to be more hopeless and thankless, more opprobrious even than was this at its inception. And till the very end its counsels were weakened, its work was hindered by enormous divergences of opinion among its sincerest friends. It was a long step from the unconditional abolitionist to the gradual emancipationist who would abolish the admitted evil, but by process of law and time and money-compensation for "property" alienated.

But even this wide area of sentiment did not include all the educated, the virtuous, the church-membership. There were Northern pulpits that thundered divine sanction of slave-holding; Northern legislators who made criminal and Northern judges who en-

forced punishment not only of those who abetted fugitive slaves, but of those who passively refrained from seizing or hunting them; while thousands upon thousands shut their eyes and their hearts and tried to feel it no concern of theirs, and thought the agitators ill-bred and pestilent folk who caused as much unpleasantness as did slavery itself. Northern friendships were broken and Northern homes rendered more unhappy than were Southern when pioneers were first called for, and the movement furnished one more verification of the truth of Christ's words, that he came to bring not peace but a sword.

Yet on her eightieth birthday, a few days since, one of the few surviving women active among the giant moral forces and heroic in anti-slavery warfare, writes to another, her octogenarian comrade: "What memories are ours! Disabled as I am I look across those memorable thirty-five years, and the old scenes and faces come thronging around me. I hear the old familiar voices, feel the hand-clasp of the rescued slave, and thrill with the 'rapture of the strife!'"

That rapture was fearful, and very costly. In our heritage of its splendid peace and harmony we must not permit its terrible

records to grow mouldy nor be lost. Journals and magazines were depositories of facts and commentaries of permanent value. Periodical literature, now as then, mirrors faithfully the passing shadow of the age. It moulds it, too, for better, for worse.

Well if they who handle the serious theme of philanthropy qualify themselves for the responsibility by clean hearts and right understandings. For although this periodical literature is styled "ephemeral," some of it shall outlive the stately and treasured book, as the tiny figurine of clay and the tear-bottles of glass have survived temples and palaces, and, like the butterfly, these ephemera may actually stand as the symbol of immortality.

CRIMINAL REFORM.

BY MRS. C. R. LOWELL (Josephine Shaw Lowell).

THE topic for my paper, excluding the wide field of private charity and the duty of individual to individual, is the duty of the community, as a corporate body, to that part of itself which has been well called "the perishing and dangerous classes." As the first step in the consideration of the subject, some conclusion must be established in regard to the end which any system of public charities and correction, as distinguished from private charity, is intended to serve, and the meaning of a good or bad system must be defined. My own opinion is that the only justification for the expenditure of public money is the public good—that is, the good of the whole mass of the people. No government is authorized to levy taxes on one part of the community for the benefit of another part; the honest working portion of the people should not be deprived against their will of their hard-earned money

for the care of that portion which is shiftless, incompetent, and vicious, unless, in the end, the result is to be for the advantage of the tax-payers themselves.

To me the word "charity," as used to designate public money paid out for the support of paupers, is a misnomer, and does much harm by causing confusion in the minds of officials and tax-payers. Charity is an act of kindness from one individual to another; there is no charity in the payment of taxes, nor is the official who expends the money raised by taxation performing an act of charity, "He is simply administering a public trust."

Thus any system of caring for criminals which does not seek to lessen the burdens of the people by diminishing crime is deficient in the first requisite of a good system; and any system which encourages crime and pauperism is far worse than none, and should be destroyed to make way for something better.

To seize upon the earnings of hard-worked men and women, and with those earnings to maintain with public money prisons which are actually schools of vice and crime are acts which do no credit to a civilized community, and yet I fear they are acts of which,

in a greater or less degree, every community in this country is guilty to-day.

The whole feeling in regard to what is usually called "charity" must be changed before we can have a really good system of public care for paupers and criminals. It is generally accounted creditable when a community spends a great deal of money for "charity" and has many "charitable institutions." This arises from the preconceived idea that in every community there is and must be a given amount of poverty and disease, and that to relieve the sufferings consequent upon these afflictions is a Christian duty. We seldom reflect that it is a higher and far more difficult Christian duty to prevent this poverty and disease, or that to have allowed a large proportion of the population to become poor, sick, insane, and criminal was a grievous neglect of duty. Every hospital is a proof that sanitary measures have been ignored; every poor-house and asylum is a proof that a part of the people have not been educated to industry and thrift; every prison is a proof that they have not been trained to self-control and honesty; and every insane asylum is a proof that many of God's laws, moral and physical, have been broken either by the un-

happy inmates themselves or by their parents. Is there in such facts any cause for pride?

Is it conceivable that in a family of twelve brothers and sisters, of whom six were prosperous, healthy, and rich, while six were either insane, criminal, imbecile, or poor, the first six should pride themselves upon the fact that they were able and willing to maintain their unhappy relations in comparative comfort? Would they not rather feel that the miserable condition of their brothers and sisters was cause for sorrow and shame, showing either a radical taint in the family, or some fearful error in education?

In like manner should we feel when we see our brothers and sisters sick and helpless and degraded, and we should do our best, with God's help, both to raise them and to prevent their children from ever needing the same kind of assistance.

I have devised a plan by which I believe that this object might be attained.

In every city there should be three Departments, to be named respectively:

1. The Department for the Care of Children.
2. The Department for the Care of Public Dependents.

3. The Department for the Reduction of Crime.

These Departments should each be governed by a separate Board, the members to be men and women, appointed by the Mayor of the city for life, unless sooner removed for incompetence or for violation or neglect of duty, and required to give their whole time to their office, receiving a sufficient salary to justify this demand.

I. With the Department for the Care of Children would rest the duty of so dealing with the little ones intrusted to it that they may gradually but surely be cut off from the influences which have brought their parents to a condition of dependence, and become absorbed into the bulk of the population, with no memory even, if it can be avoided, of anything suggestive of pauperism or crime. No child should ever for a moment be allowed to associate with paupers and criminals, and the States of New York and Massachusetts have been wise in forbidding the sending of children to poor-houses and jails for destitution and vagrancy. They should go further, however, and provide that no official who has charge of paupers or criminals should have authority of any sort over a dependent child. The creation

of a separate department for their care I believe to be a necessity, but not for the purpose of housing them in public institutions; this department should have but one institution (apart from schools) under its control—a central temporary home, into which should be received all children who have any claim upon public support, pending the examination of that claim. In New York City the custom has, most unfortunately, grown up of requiring that judges shall commit children to private institutions, as a necessary condition of obtaining payment from the city for their support. This undoubtedly is a dangerous proceeding, since the familiarization with a court of law tends to destroy the dread of arrest, which should be fostered as one of the strongest deterrent influences against crime. To bring a child before a judge in a criminal court in order to secure his entrance into an institution of charity is a most unwise measure. If children whose parents are living are placed in institutions, there should be a constant pressure brought to bear on the parents to contribute towards their support, and as soon as they are able, they should be required to take them back, or if unable or unfit to do this after a given number of

years, they should forfeit all claim to them. Besides these duties in regard to children who are fit subjects for public support, the Department for the Care of Children should have the control and management of Industrial Day Schools, and attendance should be made compulsory on all vagrant and truant children. By such means the Department for the Care of Children would be a potent factor in the work of diminishing crime.

II. The Department for the Care of Public Dependents should have charge of the public hospital, insane asylum, almshouse, and workhouse, the last to receive only persons committed as destitute. There are two means of reducing pauperism: First, by preventing accessions to the ranks of paupers from without, which can be accomplished by rendering pauperism unattractive, and by the general enlightenment of the people; and, second, by restoring individual paupers to manhood and independence. The Department can make use of both these methods, by the adoption of judicious discipline within the institutions, and by refusing to give relief outside of institutions. The aim being to *cure* the individual, whether of sickness, insanity, intemperance, or simply

of the tendency to be shiftless and lazy, the same system should be enforced in all the various buildings under the charge of the Department. To train the mental and moral nature should be the first object.

III. The Department for the Reduction of Crime would have, as its name imports, a wide field of labor, and I have chosen this name for it in order that every one, inside of it and outside of it, may fully recognize what is the main end of its creation, and that the care of criminals and the supervision of prisons may be put in their proper subordinate places, as one means only of accomplishing the real work of the department. I would place under the charge of this branch of the city government not only the reformatory institutions in the city (including those for juvenile offenders), but the station-houses and police force, which latter should be its agents to prevent as well as to detect crime, to protect the weak who cannot resist temptation unaided, to watch habitual criminals when at large, and to guard those undergoing sentence.

If it were possible it would, I am sure, be well that the judges should in some way be connected with this department, and, in any event, the management of the courts should

be a part of its business. It seems to me that the harm done by our courts, as at present governed, is not at all recognized. The publicity to which all persons on trial are exposed is in itself a serious evil, especially in the case of children and young women, breaking down and destroying all natural modesty and making them in very deed "brazen faced," while it also fosters the love of notoriety which is so common in weak natures as to be a strong incentive to crime among a certain class. I am sure that at least the trials of women and children should be conducted in comparative privacy, only certain persons being allowed to be present. We have passed the time when we need a public trial to insure justice for the accused.

There is no doubt also that the station-houses are, in many cities, places of contamination and degradation. There should be special buildings for the temporary imprisonment of women, and women-officers should be employed to guard them; and here, as well as in conveying prisoners to and from the reformatories, they should be protected from contamination by every known means. I speak only of reformatories, for there should be no prison or peni-

tentiary which is not a reformatory; and here I believe that the State of New York can furnish, in the institution at Elmira, an example for other States and cities to follow. The right principle has been adopted and carried out in this reformatory; the prisoners are sentenced practically for an indeterminate period, and the managers may, at their discretion, send them out on probation, or finally discharge them. Here we have the only rational means of dealing with offenders against the law. It is a truism to state that the very same crime may be committed either by a comparatively innocent man, who, it is morally certain, will never transgress again, or by a man who is a standing menace to society; but notwithstanding this fact, the law now requires that the first man shall pay very much the same penalty as the second, whereas were these two men both simply committed to the charge of the Department for the Reduction of Crime, that department, after a short test, would discharge the repentant and humbled citizen, sure that the terror of crime itself would in the future save him from any further offence; while the hardened criminal would be placed under such teaching as would save him, too, from future transgression of the

law, even if a discipline of ten or twenty years were required to insure that end. If the object be, as it should, to protect society, why should not an irresponsible criminal be treated as an irresponsible insane patient is dealt with, the superintendent in charge of each deciding when he may safely be trusted at large? With proper regulations and efficient supervision by the police to save them from their own weakness, a large number of criminals who are now shut up in demoralizing idleness and vile companionship might be safely allowed at liberty; thus saving them from debasing influences, and the State from the necessity of supporting them. But there is a smaller number, now periodically turned loose to prey upon their fellows, who are as dangerous as any madman, and who ought always to be kept under control. Thus our folly is apparent in both directions: we keep masses of men shut up who are quite capable of being useful and valuable members of society, while we constantly unchain wild beasts, knowing them to be such, waiting for some overt act before we dare to lay our hands upon them again.

Under the rule of the Department for the Reduction of Crime the number of criminals imprisoned would surely be greatly dimin-

ished, and the training of all actually in restraint would be such as to teach them the lessons they failed to learn from the influences of a natural life; while those who could not learn would never be allowed the opportunity to injure themselves and their fellow-men. Our present system of treating prisoners is generally the exact opposite of this; and, in this connection, I cannot refrain from quoting from a letter of Mr. T. B. Lloyd Baker, of Gloucester, England, written on April 23d of this year: "I cannot but hope that you will give attention to the work of improvement of prisons by sending the prisoners forth to the world under careful watch, and by using prisons as little as possible. The common prisons are a terrible evil. I cannot believe that the country which gave not only so much money but so many noble lives to the cause of extirpating slavery, can continue much longer not only to imprison the bodies, but also to ruin the souls of its own citizens, when a great improvement might, as I believe, be made with very slight expenditure in the first place, and with actually considerable saving in the end. Perhaps I am the more cheered in this belief at the present moment by a letter from the Governor of the prison at

Gloucester. Our average number in prison in 1870 was 279; in 1875 it was 209. Since then it has gradually lowered to 170, 160, etc., but for the last three months the average has been 131. Of course we must not consider this a permanent lowering, but only a pleasant omen." With reference to the causes to which Mr. Baker ascribes the diminution in crime I quote from his answer to the inquiries made by a French society: "Our number in prison has diminished, notwithstanding increase of population, and I have no doubt that a considerable portion of this decrease should be attributed to the fact of the establishment of a police endeavoring still more to prevent than to detect crime, of reformatories for juveniles, and the adoption of cumulative punishment for the heavier class of crimes (we have not yet obtained the power of thus dealing with minor offences). I hold strongly that our great object is not that of having the most perfectly planned and ordered gaols; our object is the reduction of crime to the greatest degree that we can effect. Gaols and prisons are *one* means to that end, but *only one* means, and, so far as my experience goes, not the most efficacious, nor the least objectionable."

I will add that I believe the parents of every juvenile offender, and the property, if there be any, belonging to every criminal, should be liable for the cost of supporting such juvenile offender and criminal in prison.

I have not been writing of "Charity," of the duty of each one of us to succor and uphold our weaker fellows, and to give of our abundance, time, thought, work, and life to lessen their misery, but of the question how any community may best protect itself from the ravages made upon its resources by pauperism and crime. My views in regard to the two fields of work are entirely distinct. My view is that public systems of relief are to protect the community, while the duty of private organizations, and of all men and women who love God and their neighbor, is to guide and care for every one of their fellow-beings who is degraded, and save him, body and soul, because he is a son of God and has an eternal future.

TENEMENT NEIGHBORHOOD IDEA.

(*First Paper.*)

BY JEAN FINE SPAHR AND FANNIE W. MOLEAN,
HEAD-WORKERS.

THE College Settlement in New York had its origin in the desire of a number of Alumnae to do what they could to better the social conditions in the tenement-house districts, and to learn upon what lines progress could be made. The initiative was taken by three graduates who were studying at Newnham College, Oxford, at the time the Women's University Settlement in East London was projected. The interest in that plan led them, on their return to this country, to urge that a similar experiment be undertaken in New York. The plan found favor, and on September 1, 1889, the College Settlement was opened in an old residence at 95 Rivington Street, in the densely-peopled district between the Bowery and the

East River. The work that has been done there is outlined as follows :

At the close of the first year of actual working the theory was proved to be practical. In this country, with its foreign population and its democratic conditions, a helpful, friendly life among the poor is possible.

The value of such helpfulness and friendliness no one can doubt who has seen the eagerness of the children to be admitted to 95 Rivington Street, and their delight in the friendship and sympathy of its residents. Nor is the interest and responsiveness confined to the boys and girls, though it is with them that the work of the Settlement chiefly lies. Many a tired and troubled mother tells of her satisfaction in knowing that her boy is at "the Club," and application is sometimes made for all other members of the family to be received into clubs, "to keep them off the street."

It was not the original intention to do anything for boys, but their demand for attention was so great that one club after another was formed for them. The last one was organized when some boys, already formed into a "pleasure club" in one of the roughest streets of the region, begged for an

evening, saying, "We'll change, and have your kind of a club."

The aim of club work is to give practical instruction and wholesome amusement, and to enlarge the range of interest. The girls are taught cooking, sewing, and dress-making. The little ones have "kitchen-garden" work, and their mothers report that the children set the table "as they learn at club." The older girls listen to talks on Hygiene, Dress, and other practical matters, as well as on historical and scientific subjects. Instruction in gymnastics is given to all, and singing is one of the most popular features of the clubs. The afternoon or evening generally closes with games or amusement of some sort.

In the boys' clubs singing and gymnastics, with military drill, are popular, and games always occupy part of the evening. Talks on a variety of subjects are given. The "Hero Club" listens to the story of the lives of great men, and tries to discover the elements of success. The "Knights of the Round Table" are being taught to be chivalrous and true. Questions are given, to be looked up and reported on at the next meeting. Sometimes the boys take their turn at asking questions.

The fact that all the clubs require a weekly fee and are self-governing certainly adds to the self-respect of the members. One club of boys recently appointed a committee to confer with the "teacher" in charge about work for next year.

Every club occasionally gives an entertainment, to which the members have tickets for their friends. This plan not only keeps the interest of the more fickle club members, but furnishes an attractive evening for others, and secures the co-operation of the older friends of the boys and girls. Afternoon teas, held once in two or three weeks for the mothers of the club members and for other neighbors, are a successful means of getting acquainted. The mere fact of taking time to be social is of great value to these German women, who do very little "visiting." It would be hard to believe that they do not go home refreshed after an afternoon in which they have chatted over their tea and coffee, listened to music, and perhaps joined in a song or two.

The library, grown from 1000 to 1900 volumes, is open to the clubs and to a large number outside their membership. Books have been given during the year to 700 persons, but the number taking books at one

time is not over 400. More than 10,000 books have been issued since last November. The boys clamor for history, and read science when put in a popular form; the girls read chiefly fiction. Care is taken to overlook the reading of each individual; for those who are in the work feel that they wield no more potent influence in forming the ideals of the boys and girls than through the reading which is given them. On one evening in the week the young people are admitted to get books from the library and to spend the evening in playing games. The Penny Provident Bank, under the auspices of the Charity Organization Society, is an education in saving money.

One of the theories of the work in its beginning was that the residents should work in existing institutions—that they should strengthen work already started. This idea has been carried out by giving assistance in the Neighborhood Guild, in the Girls' Friendly Society, Sewing School, and Sabbath Schools of the neighborhood.

The Settlement has been fortunate in having a physician as resident. She has opened up a large field of work—the work which the Settlement cares most to do—helping one sick neighbor, befriending another in trouble,

finding work for a third, whose illness has taken away a former means of support. It is often through the physician that cases are known where it is possible to make connection between one who needs help and a person or an organization ready to give it.

The bath-rooms in the basement, where baths are sold for ten cents each, are patronized to an unexpected extent. Women often come several miles for the privilege offered.

The yard in summer is fitted up with swings and a pile of sand, and on Saturdays boys and girls are admitted. During the summer, also, an ice-water fountain attached to the fence has been in constant use—a powerful rival, apparently, of the saloons.

That which is the peculiar feature of the Settlement, as has been often said, is that it is simply a home, where those who wish may go and live for the sake of becoming the friends of those about them. The informal relations between the Settlement and its neighbors are a basis for much friendly intercourse, but no report can give satisfactory account of work done during every day by every resident. We know that our neighbors consider us their honest friends. They believe that we care for them personally—that we are interested in their individual

joys and sorrows, and share our own with them. Our out-stretched hands have met in the warm clasp of friendship, and we no longer realize that there is supposed to be a gulf between the different classes of society. No lines are drawn; all are friends alike—the poorest and the most well-to-do, the recent immigrant and the New Yorker of many generations, the Jew and the Gentile.

One of the most hopeful signs is that we have been able to give the charge of the clubs more and more into the hands of the members themselves. The ownership of their clubs, and consequently their pride in them, has created a pride in their own behavior. Interest in the well-being of their clubs has made better boys and girls of them, and they in turn have improved the clubs. The "P. O. C.'s," the club of oldest boys, have been doing some good and earnest work. They are studying civil government, and have had up for discussion at the meetings various of the bills that have come before the New York Legislature during the year. These older boys are our helpful assistants in many little ways. They continue to feel the sense of responsibility that priority of years gives them, and are interested in maintaining a good standard

of behavior at the Settlement. The Choral Club has been satisfactory. It is under the charge of a thorough musician; the boys have become engaged in the real work of learning to read music and how to use the voice. Thus the club has an educational value.

One of the bright successes is the women's club, called the Home Improvement Club. Most of its members are the mothers of the club children, and the fact that both mothers and children have this interest in the Settlement makes the bond with us a family one. The mothers' weekly meetings, with animated discussions on practical subjects, the friendly chat over a cup of coffee, and the little musicale afterwards, have become a social event at the Settlement. The Penny Provident Bank, with an enrolment of about five hundred depositors, receives each evening from fifty to seventy-five, the single deposits varying from a penny to two dollars. The Library membership cannot increase if we continue the plan of allowing the members to remain in the house to play games after the exchange of books. This plan has seemed desirable, as this is the only opportunity we have of meeting socially with some of the boys and girls, and thus

we have turned away many applicants. There are four hundred and four members enrolled, the great majority of whom remain from year to year, showing their interest to be real and permanent. Instead of empty heads or heads filled with evil thoughts, their heads are filled with good thoughts, and they are shared with companions and with the family at home. Although the central library at the Settlement has not increased in membership, the establishment of six Home Libraries has added to the number of those using our books. A little bookcase containing twenty or thirty books, together with a few games, is put in the room of a tenement-house for the use of its tenants and of those in the near neighborhood. The Home Libraries are opened one afternoon of the week. In this way the influence of the library has extended into places where otherwise it would not have gone. An adjunct to the Library is the Circulating Game Closet, from which games are taken home by the children for a week at a time.

On Sunday afternoons the "Good Seeds" meet. They are the little children, Jewish and Christian, who crowd eagerly into the house at half-past two to sing and to listen to a story.

There is a Wood-carving Class and a Little House-keepers' Class, composed respectively of twelve little boys and twelve little girls each.

The Society has a Summer House at Kato-nah, open for ten weeks, from early July until the middle of September; and small parties of young children are taken there to spend Sundays in other seasons than summer. One hundred and seven of those guests were received during the past year, in parties of ten, for a fortnight's visit—an experience rich in active pleasure and innocent fun, in gain from fresh air, sunshine, and wholesome food. Those who are so fortunate as to help in this work are not least refreshed and strengthened. The gain in love and friendship is reciprocal, and these warm-hearted guests give kindness for kindness, thought for thought, and love for love. This personal contact equips the workers with certain individual facts and general truths regarding the character and lives of the young friends of the College Settlement that are most useful guides in the work in Rivington Street.

There has been in the minds of many a serious question whether the life would not prove unwholesome for the workers who en-

tered it. Experience has proved the "colony" plan to be a reasonable and natural life. The family life of educated women with congenial tastes, common interests, and independent convictions, is a relaxation in itself. The residents leave the place with reluctance and are eager to return to it. The physical conditions are not as hard as it was expected that they would be, and every resident can regulate her own amount of work.

The question is often asked how far the College Settlement is a religious work. It was hoped in the beginning that the work would be one in which people of varying convictions might labor together harmoniously. This hope has been fulfilled. As the Settlement is in the midst of a population of German Jews, any definite religious work in the house would destroy much of the influence gained. What are the results? The residents are recognized as the friends of those about them; the children turn to them with the joy of every acquisition and the grief of every loss. The club boys of sixteen and seventeen years are proud of their connection with the house and eager rivals in its good opinion. The work is a process of education; the object sought is

helpful, personal contact. It is the method of friendship, a relation which implies giving and taking on both sides; and the workers at the Settlement find one of the strongest points gained by residence to be that their neighbors have a chance to do something for them—a chance which is often improved. Thus the Settlement has become one of the quickening influences which go to form the lives of the people in Rivington Street. Upon this homely basis of friendship the work is built, resting upon firm belief in the oneness of human nature, and that God's best is the inheritance of all his sons on earth.

TENEMENT NEIGHBORHOOD IDEA— UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.

(Second Paper.)

BY HELEN MOORE.

IN the summer of 1886 Dr. Stanton Coit, then assistant lecturer under Prof. Felix Adler to the New York Society of Ethical Culture, went to live in the tenement-house at 146 Forsyth Street. His acquaintance with the boys of the neighborhood began through the happy medium of day outings, spent on the charming shores of Staten Island. Afterwards he invited them to his rooms, where he entertained them with reading and games. Discovering that a number of boys, calling themselves the Lily Pleasure Club, were accustomed to meet in the gloomy quarters of an old blind woman, he offered them the use of his apartment. They accepted, and brought their club properties—chiefly spittoons.

In February, 1887, the club was reorgan-

ized, a constitution adopted, and a new name, the O. I. F., taken from their motto: "Order is our Basis, Independence our Aim, Friendship our Principle." This was practically the beginning of the Neighborhood Guild, and around this nucleus other clubs soon gathered. The O. I. F. meet two evenings a week; a kindergarten was established, and a club of young women was formed, composed of the friends and sisters of the O. I. F. boys. Most of these girls worked in factories, and their idea of the Romance of life found expression in the name they took for their club, The Lady Belvedere. Other examples are: The Lady Aroma Club, the Rosebud, the Four Hundred Social, whose members gratify their dearest ambition by giving a ball in winter and in summer a chowder-party.

This section, a block of Forsyth Street between Rivington and Delancey, though it contains in its tall tenements two thousand human beings, is not the most densely-populated part of the Tenth Ward. Yet here is never a blade of grass; the roadway and sidewalk are the playground; the only perfume familiar to the children's nostrils not pink apple-blossoms, clover, and reddening juicy fruit, but the fermenting garbage

in the gutter and the smell of stale beer from the nine saloons in the block. The only country sport they know is kite-flying, but their run is on the roof of one of the tall tenements.

The residents of this ward are chiefly Germans, Poles, Russian Jews, and Bohemians. Where they lead, the sweat-shops follow, and scores of men, women, and children sew all day in rooms that are the only living-room, bedroom, and kitchen for a large family. A walk through the street during any day of summer's fierce heat discloses a long panorama of heart-rending sights. Every window opens into a room crowded with scantily-clothed, dull-faced men and women sewing upon heavy woollen coats and trousers. They pant for air, the perspiration that drops from their foreheads is like life-blood, but they toil on steadily, wearily, except when now and again one, crazed by heat, hangs himself to a door-jamb, or jumps from a top-story window. It is called by the police the "Suicide Ward." The violent excitement furnished by dance-halls and gambling-dens does not counteract the temporary frenzy produced by hot weather and over-long hours of work. From a political, sanitary, and educational point

of view it is the worst ward in the city, and social statistics offer no parallel in any city. It is twice as crowded as the densest part of London, our census of 1890 showing 522 human beings to the acre, and to the ward 57,514. The people, ignorant of the form of our government and of the obligations of franchise, alienated by our unknown language, distrustful of the motives and measures of up-town men who have never by personal acquaintance gained their personal confidence, give unquestioning allegiance to a few prominent, ambitious men adroit enough to appreciate and to secure their fealty. A striking example is "Silver Dollar" Charles Smith, so-called from silver dollars inlaid in the floor of his saloon, who has become a local potentate by many acts of kindness, gifts of money, and coals, and asks from his beneficiary subjects in return only their votes. Of course municipal prominence becomes synonymous with bribery, corruption, and irresponsibility, and its second name is the Crooked Ward. It answers to still another, the Typhus Ward. Filth stalks through the streets, and armies of vermin and pestiferous insects live, move, and have shelter and feeding-ground indoors and out. The precociously-intelligent

Semitic children go to school, when not crowded out by lack of room, until the age of twelve or thirteen years. Then, in spite of the law that forbids employment of children under sixteen in factories, they take their places there as wage-earners.

The people are gregarious, but not social. The race-prejudice between Jew and Gentile is strong. These were the elements with which the Guild found itself confronted; forces and antagonisms to utilize and harmonize; conditions of life to improve. Based on the Family idea as the fundamental unit of society, the ideal of the Guild is to unite neighbors as members of a family are united, irrespective of race, religion, or occupation, in bonds of mutual service, towards a common end of mutual improvement. This idea differs from that of Toynbee Hall and other University Settlements in that improvement was to be effected by "educating a body of trained workers *taken from the poor themselves*," learners becoming in turn teachers and guides. Up-town aid of money and workers is temporarily essential, and the benefit of intercourse is held to be both cardinal and mutual. A small fee is charged to the wee kindergarten pupil who receives at noon her cup

of milk, as to the lad who swings the clubs in the gymnasium. If house-repairs are needed the club-members have made them, and they taxed themselves to provide a street-cleaning fund. Whatever benefit was received was repaid in work or money.

The breadth and originality of these principles attracted to this social experiment a very strong set of men intent to work heartily together, unmindful of creed or social differences. It formed a veritable station where any one who had a social theory to prove, who wished to test the sincerity of his humanitarianism, or who kicked against the pricks in other fields of work was welcome. Men came for various motives, and left for reasons as diverse. Five college graduates joined Dr. Coit, and became residents of the Guild-house. The work grew, and soon required more and larger rooms. New clubs for little boys and girls were formed, a gymnasium outfit and books were added, and more workers from up-town volunteered. An attempt was made to enlist the participation and interest of the older men in the neighborhood and the mothers. In the belief that meeting for intelligent and friendly discussion of social economic conditions should be

mutually helpful and enlightening, a Social Science Club was inaugurated. Representative thinkers, men of all callings, all conditions and races were invited to address its meetings, and men of all trades, experiences, and views invited to discuss and reply. It was hoped that thus theorist and student, brought face to face with the head of a trade's union, should learn what were actually the Problems of the Labor Question; the anarchist should perceive the values that lie in conservatism, the professor of dead languages listen to their strange living offshoots voicing living human questions. This interest was wide and earnest for a while. Papers were written upon such topics as "The History and Nature of Trusts," "Anarchism," "Wages as Affected by the Eight-hour System," and "Strikes." Too often the up-town author of a thoughtfully prepared paper had not prepared himself nor allowed time for subsequent attack and question, and such seeming unfairness and lack of sympathy quickly alienated the down-town man who had prepared for and expected fair play and hearing of his side. The failure of an experiment which promised great gains in knowledge of facts, of conditions, and of sentiments, and which

should have made for the destruction of formalism on the one side and distrust upon the other, was likewise an injury to the humanitarian and social work in Forsyth Street. Still the Guild-house served as meeting-place for the people, who came for information or for recreation; and those who work there design it to be the Town Hall of the district, where every laudable local purpose shall find encouragement and home.

The clubs are taught self-government, and they choose their own subjects of instruction. Cooking and sewing classes are open to the girls, but the latter occupation is never popular with those whose fingers have been busy all day in the factory. Cooking presents social as well as economic attraction; the dishes made in class are taken to the club-meeting, thus saving expense and adding to their resources of attraction. For the masculine instinct which scents luncheon from afar has discovered the custom and hit upon a happy combination of gallantry with profit, and the cake-bearing girls are sure of devoted escorts.

The ignorance of the poor in regard to simple cookery, even, is as pathetic as it is proverbial. A girl's astonishment when

she saw the beaten white of an egg and found it was not ice-cream, and the agitation of a tenement-houseful of people who filled the sick woman's room to see the visitor make a bit of toast ("to see the lady roast bread," was their description), are examples of their inexperience.

It is inevitable from the experimental nature of the work that there should be fluctuations. Volunteers came and went, and the membership, too, changed. People moved away from the neighborhood. Youths withdrew from the clubs. Some could not stand the test of a sober purpose in life, others tired of it when no longer a novelty. At one time the kindergarten of fifty children contained but three who had been in it the year before. These things have affected the character of the Guild, have lessened its influence with its neighbors. But through many vicissitudes it has struggled valiantly, and we think will nobly justify its existence and its cost. It appears not as the outcome of one mind or the development of a single, unvarying idea. It is instead a congeries of experiments expressing the individuality or the idiosyncrasies even of successive directors and workers. It has been a powerful instrument of reform in

the neighborhood. Under the direction of Mr. Charles Stover, a leader of fearless and uncompromising disposition, it called the attention of the authorities to gambling places in the vicinity, to tenements out of repair, to streets in filthy condition. It had debated on politics; the members of the O. I. F. Club joined the People's Municipal League, and worked with great intelligence at the polls. It issued a newspaper once a month, which voiced in impassioned and intrepid language its editor's hatred of wrong, hypocrisy, and fraud. The East Side Art League was formed, and succeeded in opening the Museum on Sunday. The petitions distributed and the work done in this cause show what an immense influence for reform may be exerted by a few earnest workers. Many times the Guild was near financial ruin, but indomitable energy saved it. The principle of up-town help as a temporary crutch was inculcated with all the strength of a conviction which afterwards made Mr. Stover leave the Guild when he thought the integrity of the principle was violated. One result of devotion to the virtue of honest poverty and sturdy independence was an outward unloveliness which made the rooms a mere social work-

shop, forbidding in their lack of homelike comforts and beauty. There were no carpets on the coarse and undulating floors, no curtains at the windows, the window-shades were broken and stained, the gas-jets lacked globes. A piano, a case of books, some Roman photographs, and a Turkish hanging given by a generous friend, did but little to lessen the bareness and ugliness of the place. It seemed as if that subtle educator, Beauty, had been utterly defied, though, later, the ear and the mind have received education in Harmony at the People's Singing Class, conducted by Mr. Frank Damrosch, on Sunday afternoons.

If it be conceded that the history of the Neighborhood Guild presents chiefly a series of experiments colored by the idiosyncrasies of individual workers, yet that does not lessen the value of the work. The condition of the Poor in great cities is intolerable, grows worse, and is not borne so humbly or supinely as heretofore; crime is increasing, and is more menacing and powerful by reason of combination. Mutual understanding of the classes, and mutual respect, are become the conditions on which depend the continuance of civilization and the permanency of States. How to raise

the depressed, how to comfort those whom society hurts and cripples, how to enable men and women to be clean, healthy, strong, and right-minded is a more pressing question and involves graver responsibility than how to doctor the sick and restore the insane. The Brotherhood of Man as a fundamental working axiom has still to be demonstrated, and in its progressive, perhaps endless stages of development no idiosyncrasy may be forcibly suppressed, any more than conscience or "common-sense," until tried and found wanting.

There are, however, concrete results with the children in the Guild neighborhood. Not only has the reading-habit been formed, not only do they like good literature, but each month sees improvement in courtesy and consideration, and the boy who last year broke the windows is not unlikely next year to be a gentle assistant. Passionately fond of American history and biography, for which they get a taste in school, these little foreigners are laying a basis for good citizenship and patriotism with every book they read. One day a little ten-year old girl ran breathlessly across the room hugging in her arms a book. "Oh! do you think I can take this

home? I have almost read it through standing in front of the case there." It was Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. The favorite books are Fairy Tales, stories of Heroes, and narratives of pioneer life.

The Tenth Ward Social Reform Club remains to be noticed. It has an immense programme of reform which includes the public agitation and legal steps necessary to procure small parks, public baths, laundries, kitchens, co-operative stores, sanitation, and sweat-shops investigation. As far as possible the labor connected with these projects is performed by those who will be benefited by their achievement. The members of the O. I. F. are doing yeoman's service, and show the training of their five years of working for others. If this programme is carried out, it means bringing into the Tenth Ward, against ignorance and corruption, every agency known to man. It is a sincere attempt of a body of earnest men to accept the obligation of the cynic's sneering question: "Am I my Brother's Keeper?" and to reply in the spirit of the new life which the influence of Arnold Toynbee's brief stay on earth has awakened throughout the English-speaking world.

TENEMENT NEIGHBORHOOD IDEA— MEDICAL WOMEN IN TENEMENTS.

(Third Paper.)

BY DR. MARY B. DAMON.

IN whatever part of a large city a doctor establish herself, the calls upon her "love for humanity" are sure to be numerous, and opportunities for devoting time and strength to helping others will be only too apt to exceed her ability to make use of them. Nevertheless she may count it good-fortune to spend a year or two of her professional life among the crowded tenements of New York, or of any large city. For it is worth much to know life "in the mass," and to have learned to look at the conditions of the poor through their own eyes. In spite of weariness and discouragement, and of the apparent helplessness of individual effort to make an impression on conditions which have been the growth of years, one learns admiration for mankind, belief in human virtue, faith

in the final triumph of the blind and seemingly ineffectual struggle upward, which cannot be shaken by any array of statistics or by any temporary failure. And this is knowledge which does not come from seeing people in institutions, but by knowing them where they were born to be—in their own homes.

It is so easy to tabulate defects and failures which are definite and clear, so difficult to count success which at a given moment may be but partial; it is so much more startling and impressive to tell a story of special distress or hopeless stupidity or of wickedness than to speak of ordinary intelligence and virtue, that we are all likely to paint a blacker picture for others than the one we see ourselves. One talks and bewails in the evening's weariness, but in the morning's freshness and courage is too busy to waste time in speech.

The fourteen hundred and seventy people who are crowded together in a small square of a great city will show among themselves the same relative differences which are found in the same number of people in a country town. There will be the thrifty and well-to-do as well as the improvident; the skilled workman as well as the dullest of day-labor-

ers; the good house-keeper and the slattern; the woman who has given up in despair under the heavy burdens of life, and the one who, while doing the whole work for a large family, still does not hesitate to be janitress of the tenement, and to take in washing from outside. As in a country town, people of the same social standing live near each other, so the thrifty and clean naturally gravitate into the same tenement, leaving the thriftless and dirty to enjoy life as they choose. Yet one may find a single clean family in the midst of very dirty surroundings.

To be in any position where one sees only the poorest and most improvident is to gain an unjust idea of the average. Naturally, dirt and poverty are associated, for personal cleanliness requires space and privacy as well as water, and to secure clean clothes one must have at least two garments of a kind; but many of the poor are scrupulously neat, and the tenement-house living-room, which of necessity is full of disorder on washing-day, may under ordinary circumstances be home-like and clean.

The doctor who really lives among the people has ample opportunity to see them all, and needs the same training for her work here that she would need anywhere—

the best professional skill she can by every effort acquire, a self-respect and confidence which she can impart to others, and the habit of meeting people courteously and sympathetically. The doctor enters the family on terms of intimacy granted to no other stranger, and the frankness required in describing the physical pain easily extends to the social and moral relation. Only a word is necessary, and often before either doctor or patient is aware the whole picture of family life has been disclosed, showing unexpected heights of fineness or courage, or indescribable suffering and bitterness. Or, possibly, it is the fine silence which reveals more than any words. Such was the silence of the old German woman who came to the Dispensary suffering from cancer, for which operation was useless. The daughter asked that she be told, and it was done as gently as possible. Not a word, no movement nor moan came from the woman, but the doctor knew that the English of forty years was an unknown tongue now, and blundered on in German words which were not understood, nor meant to be, but which somehow built a bridge between the isolation of despair and the companionship of common life.

In any severe or long case of illness, the whole tenement-house, often a lively community of twenty families, takes an interest. The neighbor comes in to interpret for the doctor, sometimes to advise her as to diagnosis and remedies, for which friendliness the doctor is as grateful as the ordinary recipient of such charity. But in spite of the reverse side of gossip and horror-mongering, generosity and friendliness are commonly the feelings of the neighbors towards those who are ill. They will go to the Dispensary for medicine, or to the Diet-kitchen for milk, if there is no one in the family to do so, or assist the child, who may be the only nurse, in giving the medicine; and I have known the "lady down-stairs" to send up regularly part of her own meals to the family whose mother was ill and father out of work.

The devotion of the family to the sick member is often touching. If the mother is ill, the husband and sons who are at work all day divide the night between them, that medicine and food may be regularly given; or perhaps it is a boy of twelve who is the faithful nurse, because the father is a careless drunkard. I have known a boy of fourteen to do all the washing of the family. If

there is a daughter of any size all these duties naturally fall to her, and she stands faithfully to her responsibilities.

If the baby is sick the older children are quiet, attentive, and loving in their awkward way, and the overburdened mother, untrained and often utterly without appliances, is yet, to the extent of her ability, a devoted nurse. The assistance of a trained nurse will be refused because the mother prefers to care for the sick one, and invariably the child is on her side. In one case the mother was a woman neat and energetic, but worn out by watching and the work of the household, as well as wholly untrained. Yet the child turned from gentleness, firmness, and skill to say in tones which were sufficient reward for any weariness: "*Bleib hier, Mutter*" (stay here, mother). For there is something in personal love which the helpless value more than science or training. And this is the reason why patients prefer the dark bedroom of a tenement to the cleanliness and light of a hospital. They dread exceedingly dying or having their friends die in the hospital. A child of ten stood before me one evening and told me about her father. He had been taken to a hospital, and had learned that an operation would be

useless. "My mother went to see him, and he said, 'Dear wife, if you love me take me home that I may die by my children,' and she brought him home, and that night when he came home I kissed him and gave him water every minute when he wanted it, and I was so glad he came home." "How many rooms do you live in?" I asked. "Two," she said. The odor of garlic which came distinctly to me, the half-clean dress and face of the child brought up a familiar picture of darkness, disorder, and noise, in strong contrast to the trim nurse and the cheerful ward of the hospital. Yet I think the father chose as most men would choose.

But worse than the fear of dying away from friends is the appalling vision of the trenches in Potter's Field, when there is no money for funeral expenses. For this reason, insurance of children, as well as of adults is very common in New York; and whatever may be true of London, I have never known it to lead to abuse or neglect of the children here, and often it is a great blessing.

One is sometimes pleased with the intelligence and good sense with which careful directions are received, especially when the reasons are explained, and the exactitude with which they are carried out. It helps

one to believe that general teaching in regard to simple facts of hygiene would be of great value, and would in the end accomplish much good. I can never ask to have directions more faithfully and exactly carried out by the best trained nurse than was done in the tenement where eight people lived in two rooms. The father had been ill and out of work for weeks, the mother had the care of a two weeks' old baby as well as of the sick child, yet night and day every direction was exactly followed.

Certainly it is dreadful that diphtheria with measles should be cared for under such circumstances, and appalling to think of the danger of contagion to the twenty other families in the house, and of the impossibility of giving the proper treatment under such disabilities. There is no doubt that diphtheria and scarlet-fever ought to be forced into hospitals, as well as typhus and small-pox. For if, as often happens, garments are being manufactured in the same rooms with the sick, the menace to public health from these diseases is greater than that from cholera. The Board of Health officer can stop this work only by standing guard day and night, for no work means no food and no home to the family.

When one recalls the riots against pest-houses which have occurred in country towns, and pictures the result of proposing to send the sick children of the rich to contagious hospitals, it does not seem strange that the dwellers in tenement-houses should invariably refuse to sacrifice sentiment to judgment, and their loved ones to the community. In such cases the common good must be secured by force.

The doctor runs no risk of personal danger in New York City. Whether she works among Germans, Jews, Italians, or Irish, she need fear neither rear house nor dark alley, nor hesitate to answer a call to a tenement at any hour of the day or night. Perfumed water is prepared for her hands, and all the courtesies of speech bestowed upon her. One does not quickly forget the old woman's farewell, "God bless you, and spare you to mother." The gratitude shown by patients is usually great though unconventionally expressed. One of the most grateful of mothers expressed hers by the deprecatory words repeated over and over again, "It's too much trouble." Sometimes it is the doctor who is ungrateful for intended but ill-advised considerateness which adds too fully to her anxiety and care. A hasty call came

in the early morning to a lying-in case. In the so-called furnished room was nothing but the absolutely essential—not a sheet nor towel, not a clean rag nor a piece of newspaper, no basin nor bowl, no drop of warm water nor receptacle in which to heat it; and, most remarkable of all, not a friendly neighbor among the twenty families to aid in this emergency. A single tumbler sufficed to wash the patient and the doctor's hands, to give milk and medicine. Mother and child lay together helpless on the floor. But the man, kneeling down, murmured low a word of remorse and love, kissed his wife, and was forgiven; for the finer feelings do survive poverty, improvidence, and wrong. It was long before the doctor appreciated that such extremity was reached through unwillingness to disturb her night's rest.

I like to have the housewife who, I know, has not a penny, say boldly at the end of the first visit, "What do I owe you, doctor?" It gives me a chance to make my gift of service gracious, and puts both on a level, where we can look each other in the face. It is the spirit which is of value, and a simple "Thank you, doctor," with the right inflection, can be the sweetest words of all the languages; or, "You have done everything,

doctor," may be for both a consolation even in the bitterness of death.

But it would be unfair to ignore the other side of the picture. One finds not only the self-respecting, intelligent, and grateful poor, but also the ignorant, careless, and lazy. Medicine and advice are of small account in the rear house which has filthy closets in front and a pile of decaying garbage behind. Nothing but the Sanitary Police can make so much as a momentary impression there. It was the starting-place of the Typhus Epidemic in 1881, and is waiting for such a guest again. One may often doubt whether landlord, tenant, or careless house-keeper is most to blame for wretched conditions. No house can be well kept without the co-operation of all three. The shiftless man who has no work, and keeps no position found for him, the proud man who sends his sick wife to the Diet-kitchen for the baby's milk, and leaves her to wash all day while he loafs in the street, the drinker who earns high wages but lets wife and children starve, all belong to the Law, and not to Medicine, though the doctor sees only too much of them.

In regard to the abuse of free medical aid I cannot quote better authority than Dr.

Annie S. Daniel, for more than ten years Outpractice Physician to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. Of one hundred and sixty families of whom careful statistics were kept, she says: "The maximum amount of wages earned was \$19; this in one family only, and earned by three persons. The minimum earned regularly \$1.50, by a woman finishing pantaloons, living in one room, paying \$4 per month rent. With an average income of \$14 per month, an average rent of \$8.62 $\frac{1}{4}$, an average family of four and one-half to be fed and clothed, we fail to see how it would be possible to pay for doctor and medicine, and we are inclined to believe that abuse of medical charity is the exception rather than the rule." Nevertheless it keeps one's instinct of self-preservation normally active when asked for free advice by the wife of a New York City fireman who thinks \$15 small wages. A more difficult case is that of the wife of a musician who earns \$30 a week during the season, but spends most of it on himself, and is savage at the suggestion of a doctor's bill. Surely the public burden is heavy enough without assuming such as this; but the woman is in the first stages of consumption, and steady care could arrest the disease here.

But for assurance one incident stands unique. A call came at six o'clock one morning, and a man stood on the steps with a girl and crying baby. A previous meeting made the doctor certain that this should be a pay-patient, and this was suggested. The man's hand went swiftly into his pocket, making the silver coin jingle merrily. Then a second thought came to his aid, and saying, "Oh! if I pay I go to a man doctor," he walked calmly away.

In the philanthropic work open to medical women the house-visiting forms only part of a large field. A valuable opportunity is given in the clubs for Working-girls and for Mothers. These clubs have multiplied rapidly, and talks given before them upon definite subjects, as well as personal interviews between the doctor and individual members, give special opportunity for disseminating much needed knowledge. Simple facts of hygiene and physiology repeated to generation after generation of young girls will have their weight in the future, though for the present it often seems like writing words in sand. But each talk reaches a larger audience than the one addressed, for new facts are discussed and commented upon in workshop and tene-

ment, and if approved are solemnly handed down.

Medical work in institutions for women and children is entirely different in kind but no less important. Among the young unmarried girls in the Maternity Hospital one meets many who have impulsively gone astray, who are thankful to be helped back again into safe paths. Concerning work in the Rescue Missions for the drunken and prostitutes one hesitates to speak. It is so difficult, and the chance of accomplishing permanent good is relatively so small, that all other work seems hopeful by comparison. Yet the woman who is struggling to regain her self-control and self-respect can best be helped by a woman, and it is sufficient reward for much effort and many failures if one may know of a single tempted and sinful life redeemed.

One form of work there is which is always and truly delightful—that of the Fresh Air and Vacation Fund. Children make spontaneous expression of their joy, and though it be the depth of winter, the world grows suddenly warm as one hears the eager words. "There goes the lady-doctor that sends the children to the country." For the doctor it is well worth while to examine heads and

throats indefinitely, just for the sake of seeing the thin, pale faces come back to the city with new color and fresh ideas. The color dies out only too soon, but the ideas stay, and a better way of influencing the life of the city could hardly be devised than this summer migration, short though it be.

There are three urgent needs of the present time which the community might supply. First, public bath-houses, which would reduce largely the amount and severity of certain kinds of disease. Many a person is out of work for weeks because the skin is so dirty that an insignificant injury gives rise to severe ulcer or poisoned wound. If, as commonly happens, the person is in poor general condition, a permanently stiff joint may be the result. And to be thrown out of work often means starvation. Often, for adults who are at home only when the whole family and all the boarders are there, prescribing baths is much the same thing as prescribing a journey—quite impracticable.

There is, secondly, the great need of places away from the city where patients in the first stages of consumption may be sent. A few weeks or months of good air and proper food would in many cases avert the disease. None of the hospitals in New York will take

consumptives, and the few Homes for Consumptives and Incurables are always full.

The third need is for nurses who can stay with the families—not alone the trained nurses of great skill. There are many cases of relatively mild illness in which a woman of ordinary intelligence can follow all directions while doing the house-work also, during the mother's illness. It is not only those who are too poor to pay anything who need such a helper, but there are families who would gladly pay a moderate sum for those services. It is a most expensive plan which keeps the father, sole wage-earner, from his work in order to take care of his sick wife, losing thereby his place perhaps. And many a woman is ill for months or years from lack of a few days' care at the first. I believe that there could be no plan more helpful than the provision of such nurses by a few institutions who should guarantee them a sufficient sum to afford a living. Qualified women are deterred from taking such irregular work, even when fairly paid at the time, because at the end of a case another cannot be found immediately, or time may be lost by their own breaking-down. The co-operation of several institutions to make provision of such nurses and insure them

from idle periods and want would make the salary-tax a light one. Often the day-nurse only is needed, or, indeed, possible, from the absence of a sleeping-room for her.

These things are indeed needed, and yet, as one suggests them, their inadequacy seems fairly overwhelming. Sanitariums and nurses can relieve only a small measure of the evil results of overcrowding and of irregular and ill-paid work. They do not touch the deeper mental and spiritual injuries of which the physical defects are but material symbols. It is the solution of the Industrial Question and not Philanthropy which is needed, could the world but find the key to that infinitely complicated problem.

THE TRAINED NURSE.

BY AGNES L. BRENNAN, SUPERINTENDENT OF
BELLEVUE TRAINING-SCHOOL FOR NURSES.

TRAINING-SCHOOLS for nurses are among the last and best triumphs of humanity, of civilization, of Christianity. They represent and embody the new religion that harmonizes and unites all churches and all creeds—that God is best and most truly served by serving our fellow-man, that religion consists no longer of dogmas, but of doing good.

No one can read the early reports of the first Training-school in this country without realizing what an immense influence and power for good a few zealous and devoted women can command, and how surely they enlist the sympathy and aid of others like-minded in many places. To the ladies of the New York Visiting Committee for Bellevue is due the reform in nursing in this country.

The chief work of a Training-school must

be done by women, and among all the employments which modern civilization is constantly throwing open to woman certainly none is more worthy of her than that of an educated and technically trained nurse. As there can be no man too gifted or too broad to adorn the ranks of the medical profession, so there can be no woman too gifted or too tender to serve in the ranks of Trained Nurses.

Twenty years ago, May 1st, 1873, the first effort to provide better nurses for our sick was made, and it met with many difficulties. One of the greatest was finding women of education and refinement who were willing to go through the severe training considered necessary to fit them to cope with all phases of disease and with all dispositions.

It is sometimes forgotten that Florence Nightingale prepared herself for her great work of reform by ten long and patient years of practical study. Her example has been as effective as the result of her work has been wonderful, and to-day in all the Training-schools will be found educated and refined women, studying and practising to prepare themselves for the care of the sick.

This preparation, of what does it consist? The catalogue of any good school will tell

you that the course of training consists of "the proper way to make beds, change the bedclothes and patient's clothes without wasting his strength, to make poultices, understand blisters, and, in fact, to learn how to do everything for a sick person, be it man, woman, or child; the study of Anatomy, Physiology, Materia Medica and Diseases, Ventilation and Disinfection; how to make and to apply surgical dressings; order, neatness, and cooking for the sick."

Now one would think all this quite as much as could be crowded into a two years' course, but there is something else to learn, without which the education of the hand, eye, or ear will not make a successful nurse. It is the training of the individual character: to obey absolutely, to cultivate that indispensable attribute, "tact;" in fact, to learn how to efface one's self. The majority of women who enter a Training-school find this part of the training far more difficult than the former, and it is the rock that many stumble against; but without this training, however skilful the nurse may be in the technical part of her profession, she is only a mechanical one after all. But the two combined give the ability to quiet restless nerves, to inspire unbounded confidence and

that trust upon which hang mighty issues, now faithful obedience, and again quick and sure command of every resource. A controlled body, a fertile mind, with uncounted other personal qualities, will give the success in each particular case which a true nurse longs for as the real reward for her labors.

All this cannot be acquired in two years, but a nurse who wishes to succeed is "progressive," and will increase her knowledge if she would preserve it.

Let us see the sequence of that small beginning in Bellevue Hospital, twenty years ago.

1st. The effect of intelligent nursing on the medical profession.

2d. The growth of Training-schools.

3d. The result of having a superior class of women for nurses in our City Hospitals.

4th. District nurses.

5th. Missionary Nurses in foreign lands.

6th. The private nurse.

1st. The effect of intelligent nursing on the medical profession.

As far back as 1881 that eminent authority, the late Dr. Austin Flint, said in his address to the graduating class of that year:

"I believe I express the opinion of my brethren of the medical profession of New York when I say that the advent of nurses trained in Bellevue Hospital was an important epoch in the practice of medicine and surgery in this City." Dr. W. T. Lusk, on a like occasion in 1887, said: "In 1878 I performed the first successful ovariectomy in Bellevue; up to that date the operation was regarded as unpractical; now our results in abdominal surgery are certainly not excelled. In the last four years there have been one thousand births in the Emergency without a death from puerperal infection. The improvement I unhesitatingly attribute to the trained nurse."

2d. The growth of Training-schools.

In New York City to-day are seven large Training-schools, besides a number of smaller ones. In all the cities of the Eastern States one school (in many instances several schools) has been established for some years. In all the large cities of the West and South one or more good schools can be found. In fact, no hospital is now built without making arrangements for a Training-school for Nurses.

3d. The result of having a superior class of women for nurses in the City Hospitals.

Again I quote from Dr. Lusk's address in 1837: "A very remarkable change has taken place in the *morale* of the patients. Bellevue is no longer regarded by the helpless poor as a penal institution. There is no such efficient medicine for the sick as tidiness, system, and order. Where, in old times, we had sullenness and fear we now have serenity and peace. It is a source of wonder to me to notice the confidence with which the patients undergo the severest operations, but the reason is they feel so sure that they will receive the same care, the same consideration, the same watchfulness that is commanded by the rich in their own homes."

4th. District nurses.

When, in 1876, one of the graduates decided to work among the sick poor in their own homes under the auspices of the City Missions, the Managers rejoiced that their work had so soon begun to develop this branch which had been an object with them from the beginning. This nurse soon found her hands full, and found also that district nursing was very different from hospital nursing. Here her life is passed in going from street to street in all weathers, up and down tenement-houses dark

and pestiferous, tending sometimes the very poorest and most forlorn in the city.

From March, 1876, to November, 1877, this nurse had made nine hundred and thirty-five visits and fifty dispensary calls. Now what is meant by a visit?

The nurse attends not only to the sick person, but looks after the rest of the household. If the mother is the patient, the nurse attends to the children. They have to be washed and dressed, the dinner has to be cooked for them and the father, and the place cleaned up; so that one visit may mean two or even three or four hours.

A successful district nurse must be a good teacher, as she has to instruct her patients in the management of their children; she enlightens them on the importance and harmlessness of bathing, shows them how to cook simple dishes, and the necessity of keeping clean rooms, etc., etc.

In 1880 the "Report" says that during the past five years this branch of the work has steadily increased in favor with rich and poor alike. There are now eight nurses occupied, often far beyond their strength. During the year, 9000 visits have been made, carrying relief and comfort to 1738 patients, more than one-fourth of

whom were mothers with infants. The nurses have expended for medicines and nourishment, \$1172.93; have given away 1251 garments, and lent for the comfort of the sick 536 articles.

In the summer of 1879, the Society of Ethical Culture, with the aid of a Bellevue graduate, inaugurated the work in connection with the Dispensaries.

In 1893 we have the City Mission with a large staff of district nurses, the Society of Ethical Culture, and nearly every church, of whatever denomination, with one or more nurses working in its parish; besides these, many ladies employ a nurse for a particular locality in which they are interested. So much for New York.

In the summer of 1883, one of the Ethical Culture district nurses, a Bellevue graduate, was lent to Chicago. She spent six months there, and left two districts running smoothly. From there she went to Indianapolis, and instructed the ladies of the Flower Mission how to establish the work in their city. In all cities through the land wherever there is a Training-school well established will be found the "district nurse."

In 1884 another graduate, who had done

district nursing in this city, returned to her own country (Holland) to organize the work there. As this was a branch of the work very near to the hearts of the Managers of this first Training-school, it is gratifying to feel how abundantly their efforts in this direction have been blessed.

5th. Missionary nurses in foreign lands.

In 1888 two graduates from Bellevue went to China, one as Superintendent of a Training-school and Hospital, the other as missionary nurse. In 1889 there was graduated from the same school a young Persian woman who, when her medical studies are completed, will return to her native land and practise her profession among her country-women.

In 1890 another graduate went to Japan to take charge of a Training-school, another to Turkey for the same purpose. In 1891 another, who studied medicine after graduating, went to India, to work among the women of that country.

In 1883 the Rev. Dr. Nevins, with the aid of a Bellevue graduate, established St. Paul's Home for Trained Nurses in Rome, Italy, and by them a large number of American travellers have been nursed back to health and strength.

Much more could be written on the subject of "Missionary Nurses," but this will suffice to show that "the little seed sown with so much anxiety twenty years ago has borne fruit a hundredfold."

6th. The private nurse.

The private nurse is so well known and so thoroughly appreciated that very little need be said on the subject.

From the very start, the family who had once realized the comfort of a nurse in the house who could be trusted, and whose judgment could be relied upon, no matter what emergency arose, would never go back to the old-time nurse.

The medical profession, at first very sceptical as to the advisability of having intelligent nursing, soon felt it a necessity, and to-day very few physicians will undertake a case of severe illness without the aid of a trained nurse.

Of the six branches of nurses' work this last is without doubt the one that requires the most of the nurse, and the nurse who takes it up must accept heavy responsibilities, and would be wise to understand from the beginning that the work is very exacting.

A good man once tried to impress upon a

graduating class a little of what might be expected of them in private duty: "That they must be endowed with inexhaustible patience and have almost superhuman endurance, that they are not supposed to know weariness or exhaustion, and that under the most trying conditions they must maintain the bearing of a perfect lady."

Poor woman! How much more satisfactory it would be for the nurse if the public would learn that she is not yet an angel, any more than she is a machine.

It is not unusual to hear it said that "no personal relation exists between the nurse and her patient; it is just so much work for so much money." Nothing does more discredit to the profession than this idea. Take away sentiment if you like, but leave sympathy, for without it the nurse is never a success.

Nearly all schools keep a "Registry" for the benefit of their graduates, who find it of incalculable service, and the physician, as a rule, would rather get the nurse direct from her school.

The number of private calls filled during 1892 by graduates of Bellevue alone was 1366. This does not include the many that could not be filled.

From this it can be seen that "Trained Nursing" as a lucrative employment is absolutely sure, and if the few noble women who agitated this great reform in the nursing of the sick could see but this one result of the trials and difficulties they went through twenty years ago, they should be satisfied with the hundreds of educated women they have been the means of making independent—women who would, without this profession, be in many cases more or less a burden on their friends, now self-supporting, cheerful, and useful.

THE SOCIETY OF THE RED CROSS.

BY LAURA M. DOOLITTLE.

THOUGH this Society has been in existence in Europe for twenty-nine years, and in the United States for eleven, one realizes in beginning to write of it that even to-day its objects must be explained. So quiet, so modest has our American branch been in its ways and its manners that little is known by our people at large of its character and workings, although it is to-day one of the most important philanthropic organizations in the world—one of the most productive and beneficent. It is, then, a confederation of relief societies in different countries, the aim of which is to ameliorate the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war. Its operations extend over nearly the entire civilized world.

But to understand its spirit one must glance back into history for a moment—space would forbid more than a glance—in order to appreciate the conditions that made

it necessary and finally led to its formation. Though during the barbarous and semi-barbarous ages of the past, and almost down to our own time, the maintaining of nationalities and governments, and through them, strange as it may seem, the evolution of civilization itself has depended upon and made unavoidable incessant conflicts of arms — though war, the organized, systematic wounding, maiming, and slaughtering of men has thus been largely the occupation of the world—not until three centuries ago was there in existence any system supported by the State for the care and relief of those *hors du combat* through the calamities of battle or siege. And later still, the medical and sanitary service of armies was a thing little thought of. Even during wars so recent as the Napoleonic, when the bravest and best of the people of all Europe were being slain by thousands, there was no hospital system worthy the name. In records of the time we read much of the glory of dying in the service of one's country, as though that were all a soldier could ask, and that glory, cheap and abundant, seemed to have been pretty much all that Kings and Emperors and Councils were willing to grant. One is lost in wonder that such a state of

things could ever have existed, and, more than all, that it could have continued so late in the history of the world. Is it "standing still at high noon and finding fault with the shadows of early dawn" thus to wonder? But alas! universal war itself was sufficient to prevent the spirit of humanity from growing up. "We are screened evermore," in the words of Emerson, "from premature ideas. Our eyes are holden that we cannot see things that stare us in the face until the mind" [and the time] "is ripened."

But the time was to ripen at last for a change. Perhaps it was in the hidden councils of God that those fierce and bloody campaigns of the early years of our century—the culmination and denouement as it were of the world's history down to that time, should be the instrument in bringing it about. For certain it is that out of that frenzied carnival of war, resulting from a mighty upheaval of the elementary social forces, the modern spirit of humanity, the acknowledgment of the rights of man as man, was born. It is to this sense largely that we owe the recognition of what is due to the soldier, for he has had during the ages the same claim which he has now, as the

defender of nations and the guardian of civilization.

But this new spirit of humanity, once abroad in the world, grew fast. Since the campaigns of Napoleon no war has occurred in Europe without voluntary relief societies springing up in aid of the disabled, but their efficiency was lessened by want of organization and system, and their existence usually ended with the end of the war which called them forth. When, however, the great war of 1853 broke out between Russia and the Allied Powers, it was evident that Europe, and especially England, thought differently, felt differently in regard to the common soldier from what she had ever done before. He was far from being the mere machine he had been. The people at large had come into new relations with him. A new power in modern life also had grown up which was to bring the two into still closer touch. When the English armies set out for the Crimea the newspaper correspondent went with them. And when, after the first battle, he poured upon Britain the story of the sufferings of her army, the kingdom from end to end was roused to sudden and fierce indignation. The war was mighty and desperate — the climate deadly to men just

from the humid lowlands of England and the wind-swept highlands of Scotland and Wales. Accounts continued to come thick and fast of the awful condition of the troops. One regiment was reduced from 1100 to 20 men able for duty. Another had but 10. Men wounded in battle lay in the trenches, or in pools of water, or in the mud just where dropped by their comrades as they dragged them from the front — untended and unfed, their wounds rankling and festering. Pestilence and disease of all kinds had their way unhindered, for the hospitals, through overcrowding, were little better than dens of death. And this monstrous condition of things ensued because Government had failed to provide an efficient sanitary service. The army had gone out with only a half-supply of physicians, nurses, medicines, and hospital stores. The heart of England was stirred to its depths, and Government woke as if from a dream.

The story of the great system then inaugurated and successfully carried out, of voluntary civil care, supplementary to that of the military, of the sick and wounded in time of war is well known. The truth was accepted then and has not been disputed since, that the military power never did and

probably never could provide and keep in operation an adequate medical service through a long and severe campaign.

Lord Sydney Herbert, Minister of War, appalled like the rest by the awful distress in the Crimea, with great courage and resolution—against the weight deep almost as life of ancient military precedent and prejudice—wrote Miss Florence Nightingale, then in charge of a hospital in London, asking for help. A letter from her to the Minister begging permission to help was on its way at the same moment. A few days later she, with forty devoted women companions, set out for the scene of war. Here we have the beginning of a movement which has grown in comparatively few years to a system by which the miseries of the soldiers in the field are reduced to the lowest degree possible in the present condition of human knowledge. The history of Miss Nightingale and her three hundred companions in the Crimea—for the number was increased to that—we will not repeat. The whole world is familiar with it; how order was brought out of chaos in the hospitals, how new ones were established, how hope and returning health followed in the footsteps of those self-sacri-

ficing women, how men snatched from quick-coming death would raise their feeble hands in blessing and even kiss the shadow of their benefactress as she passed, and how she has become one of the world's highest and most beloved ideals of character.

The story of the Crimean War, impressed as it was by the experience of Miss Nightingale and her staff, demonstrated the truth that the sufferings resulting from war are in a large measure preventable. But its greatest service to humanity was in proving that the civil arm could most properly and effectively supplement the military in the sanitary service of belligerent armies. Never again will the forces of an enlightened country set out to encounter battle and disease except accompanied by a civil sanitary service as complete as money and medical science are able to supply.

And now we come to the immediate events which led to the organization of The Society of the Red Cross, under whose banner every State in Europe is to-day enrolled. Some one has uttered a beautiful and most suggestive saying, that "Saint Francis was himself God's remembrance of the poor." God's remembrance of the sick and wounded soldier was a Swiss gentle-

man named Henri Dunant. Round his humane and sympathetic heart first stirred the thought that societies similar in aim to those which had sprung up already in different countries—to exist permanently—might be formed among all the Nations, bound together by solemn agreements, to prevent unnecessary suffering during military campaigns. M. Dunant was travelling in Italy in pursuit of his own objects, in June, 1859, when the battle of Solferino occurred. Happening to be near the place, he took part in the care of the wounded, remaining for some days in the hospitals. He was profoundly impressed with the strange and to him unaccountable lack of facilities for the care of the wounded. He thought much and deeply upon the subject. After a time he published a little book called *A Souvenir of Solferino*, describing the scenes he had witnessed and giving a vivid picture of the horrors of war. The battles of the Italian campaign were still fresh in people's minds, and the book, soon translated into several languages, made a deep and widespread sensation. Encouraged by its reception, M. Dunant resolved to present his theories before the Society of Public Utility—a society of Switzerland similar in scope

and purpose to our "Society of Social Science" which meets annually at Saratoga.

The measure brought distinctly before this Conference and discussed was the establishment in each country of a national society to have for its object the voluntary civil care of the sick and wounded during campaigns. This central society was to form auxiliary societies, each organization to be permanent and to occupy themselves during peace in whatever would tend to their greater efficiency; in maintaining schools for nurses; in studying new inventions and discoveries in their line of work; in keeping up close intercourse with each other, that all might benefit by interchange of ideas; in collecting money and stores to be drawn upon in case of need; and in everything, in fact, which would tend to a mastery of sanitary science and art. Each central society was to make one of its essential duties the securing of recognition by its Government, and the establishing of sympathetic relations with it.

The President of the Swiss society, M. Gustav Mogner, chanced to be a man of large and liberal mind—a philanthropist—who devoted all his time and large wealth to its interests. He welcomed M. Dunant

warmly, and presented him to the society. This body appointed a committee, the General-in-Chief of the Swiss Confederation at its head, to take charge of the movement and endeavor to interest other countries. An International Conference at Geneva in October, 1863, was the result. Sixteen nations, including all the great European powers except Russia, were represented. This Conference, under the authority of the Supreme Federal Council of Switzerland, resolved to call an International Convention.

In response to this call a convention met at Geneva, August 8, 1864. It was numerously attended, and included twenty-five members eminent in diplomatic or military service, or in medical science. All came empowered by their Governments to make and sign a treaty in accordance with its objects if it should be by them deemed advisable. Again sixteen nations were represented. The deliberations occupied two weeks. A code of nine articles was adopted. The first: "That hospitals containing the sick and wounded shall be held neutral by belligerents so long as thus occupied."

The second and third provide for "The neutrality and security of all persons em-

ployed in care of the inmates of the hospital — surgeons, chaplains, nurses, attendants — even after the enemy has gained the ground; but when no longer required for the wounded they shall be promptly conducted under escort to the outposts of the enemy to rejoin the corps to which they belong, thus preventing all opportunity to roam free and make observations under cover of neutrality."

"Article four settles the terms upon which the material of hospitals shall not be subject to capture."

"Article five, with a view to quiet the fears of the inhabitants in the vicinity of a battle, who often flee in terror, as well as to secure their assistance and the comfort of their homes for the care of the wounded, offers military protection and certain exemptions to all who shall entertain and care for the wounded in their houses."

"Article six binds the parties contracting the treaty, not only to give the requisite care and treatment to all sick and wounded who shall fall into their hands, but to see to it that their misfortune shall not be aggravated by the prospect of banishment or imprisonment; they shall not be retained as prisoners of war, but, if circumstances admit,

may be given up immediately after the action, to be cared for by their own army, or, if retained until recovered, and found disabled for service, they shall be safely returned to their country and friends, and also that all convoys of sick and wounded shall be protected by absolute neutrality."

"Article seven provides for a flag for hospitals and convoys, and an arm-badge for persons. The badge adopted was a red cross with four equal arms, on a white ground—this being the national ensign of Switzerland with the colors reversed."

"Articles eight and nine provide for the details of execution being left open for the subsequent admission of other Governments."

This treaty at first received twelve signatures, which were soon increased to sixteen.

The formation of this treaty of Geneva—I must use that well-worn phrase for no other so well expresses the truth—marks an epoch. Nothing so beneficent has been produced within the century. The world-spirit—the *Welt-Geist*—in its onward sweep through humanity must surely have paused when this compact was signed, to mark the spot with a white stone. For no intelligent

person can listen to its provisions and not be conscious of the feeling away down in the depths of his soul that here is the beginning of the end of war. Though he may not be able to justify his belief to reason, yet the belief remains. Since the time when the wounded were, as a matter of course, left to starve, die, and rot on the field where they fell—what a change! The spirit of Christ has at last begun to work itself into the practices and institutions of Governments and Nations. Indeed, when one thinks upon Ministers of State writing orders for rifled cannon, Krupp guns, and dynamite, and with the same stroke of the pen purchasing balms, cordials, and downy pillows for wounded enemies who may fall into their hands—when one sees in Governmental reports of the expenses of campaigns, the salaries of surgeons, nurses, and attendants of a costly service used for disabled enemies equally with its own—he begins to look beneath the surface of things for the source of the strange anomaly. Thus looking, he sees that in the growth of the world in civilization, in the progress of that moral revolution, the germs of which were planted when Christianity was unfolded, the spirit of war itself has changed. Anciently, wars

were usually of conquest or for religion, and, of course, of invasion. Of the former, the primary idea was the depriving of some people of their hard-won rights, and both were of a kind calculated to rouse the fiercest human passions. The fighting was hand to hand, too—face to face; weapons were such — knives, spears, swords — that it could not be otherwise. Men became like wild beasts in the fray. The berserkers of the cold and stolid North, sufficiently to fire their passions for the conflict, used to quaff a fiery drink which was believed to have miraculous powers and which excited them to frenzy. In the midst of such a state of things “no quarter” to the fallen, whether wounded or whole, was, of course, the rule. But since that early time the world has so altered that during the latter half of our century wars of conquest and invasion, or even of ambition and selfish personal aggrandizement have rarely occurred except among barbarous people. Now nations resort to arms to preserve the balance of power—or for the national vanity—or to defeat the ignorant and reckless spirit of disunion. Instead of close personal combat wars are illustrations of the triumph of inventive genius as shown in magnificent ordnance;

they are demonstrations of a country's wealth and power, and the resources of its proletariat. Instead of expressions of a spirit of rage and destruction, wars are at present largely constructive and preservative. Thus the beautiful, beneficent, peace-making treaty we are considering came to be possible only in the year 1864, instead of in any previous year of the Christian era. And almost in the same decade the idea of arbitration in cases of national dispute was born.

Forty Governments are now bound together by the articles of Geneva. So many nations, some of Asia, some of the isles of the sea, clasp hands under its banner and pledge themselves to carry out its humane provisions. Never again in any civilized country will the words, “wounded and a prisoner” — worse than the tidings “killed in battle” — strike death to the hearts of waiting, longing wives and mothers. Never again will the fallen in battle lie unfed and untended, in heat, in wet, or frozen to the earth, for want of the flag of truce which would make safe the relief-corps going to their rescue; never again will the ambulance which would pick its way about to gather them up, run the risk of being fired upon by the exultant victors who shall hold the field.

In the organization of the Red Cross Society it was thought indispensable that there should be a head-centre, empowered to act as agent between the societies composing it. When the Conference of 1863 closed, it was at once decided by the committee appointed to execute its benign decrees, that the society of the country which had been nursing-mother to the original idea, Switzerland, should be this head-centre. The Swiss society, therefore, is international, the only one that is so. It occupies itself with the general interests and objects of the society, and in correspondence with the others—a correspondence carried on in all the languages of Europe.

The first act in each country, after its Government has signed the treaty, has been to form a National central society. Each National society is independent, making its own regulations, except as it owes allegiance to the head-centre—the international society of Switzerland—in respect to a few fundamental principles essential to unity of direction and successful action.

These are, first, that in each country there shall be one national, central society, to which the auxiliary societies in that country shall be tributary, the central society

being the medium of communication for all with the seat of war and with medical authorities. It is through this central society that the work is recognized by Government.

Second, that the societies shall in time of peace keep themselves constantly prepared for war, thus securing permanency of organization.

Third, that during war their succor shall be extended to foe equally with friend, whenever necessary.

Fourth, that societies whose countries are at peace may send relief to belligerent armies without being considered to violate any principle of neutrality to which their Governments may be pledged.

Auxiliary societies are formed—as many as are found desirable and useful—to co-operate with the central society.

In Europe the central societies are under the patronage of men and women of rank—often the members of royal families. Of the first one formed, the German Empress Augusta, grandmother of the present Emperor, was head, taking ardent interest in its affairs. Her daughter, Grand-duchess Louise of Baden, filled the same position in the society of that country. Both these ladies

were heart and soul in the work of the Red Cross.

It would be a labor of love to tell in detail the story of the work of this great society on many fields since its organization nearly twenty-nine years ago. The treaty has triumphantly stood every test to which it has been put, and the same may be affirmed of the many societies formed under it. They have proved their incalculable usefulness in every war which has occurred in Europe since their formation. During the first ten years of existence they participated in five great wars. A description of some of their methods and achievements during one of these—that of Sleswick-Holstein in 1866—will, however, serve to indicate their work. And here the only recourse for information is to pages written by the honored President of the American Society.

Germany took the Red Cross close to her heart from the first. At once, after putting her name to the treaty, she formed a powerful central society, which came into most cordial relations with the Government, enjoying its earnest sympathy. Sub-committees were established in many parts of the Kingdom. All set heartily to work studying methods, training nurses, collecting sup-

plies, and in every way preparing themselves according to the spirit of the conference of 1863. When war came, therefore, in 1866, the Red Cross of Germany was fully ready. "The Central Committee of Berlin was flooded with contributions from the provincial committees. In the eight provinces or Prussia four millions of thalers were collected, and the other States of Germany were not behind. So munificently did the people bestow their aid that large storehouses were provided in Berlin and in the provinces for its reception; and at the central depot in Berlin two hundred paid persons, besides a large number of volunteers and nearly three hundred ladies and misses, were employed in classifying, parcelling, packing up, and despatching the goods. Special railroad trains carried material to the points of need. In one train were twenty-six cars laden with two thousand hundred-weight of supplies. Never had private charity, however carefully directed, been able to accomplish such prodigies of benevolence. It was now that the beneficence of the treaty and the excellence of the organization were manifested. But the committee did not confine itself to sending supplies for the wounded to the seat of war. It established and provisioned re-

freshment stations for the trains to which those unable to proceed to the great hospitals without danger to life were admitted, nursed, and cared for with the tenderest solicitude until they were sufficiently recovered to be removed, or death took them. At the station of Pardubitz from six hundred to eight hundred were cared for daily, for two months, and lodging provided for three hundred at night. This example suffices to show the extraordinary results of well-organized plans and concerted action. During the war the relief societies had also to contend with the terrible scourge, Cholera. There can be no estimate of the misery assuaged and deaths prevented by the unselfish zeal and devotion of the wearers of the Red Cross."

Constant to their brave humanitarian purpose, the German societies filled the interval between 1866 and 1870 with the most loyal and excellent preparatory work. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, therefore, they were again in a condition of complete efficiency. The central society had only to clap its hands, as it were, and hundreds of able assistants, equipped *cap-à-pie*, appeared in Berlin, to be despatched to all points, "forming a chain which extended over the

whole country and numbered over two thousand persons. Constant communication was kept up between these committees and the central bureau, and the most perfect order and discipline was maintained. Relief was sent from one or other of these stations as needed. The State afforded free transport, and the voluntary contributions of the people kept up the supplies of sanitary material, so that there was never any lack or danger of failure. With the Government transports, whether by land or water, there went always the agents of the Red Cross, protected by their badges and flag, to wait on the invoices, hasten their progress, see to their being kept in good order, and properly delivered at their destination. Depots of supplies were moved from place to place as exigencies demanded. The greatest care was taken to prevent disorder or confusion, and the best military circumspection and regularity prevailed. The great central depot at Berlin comprised seven sections—viz., camp material, clothing, dressing for wounds, surgical apparatus, medicines and disinfectants, food and tobacco, and hospital furnishings. Of their work of unparalleled activity, unselfish devotion, and holy beneficence in all wars among all peoples, from their institu-

tion to the present moment, there is neither time nor space for me to speak."

"The Red Cross of France was not in a condition of preparation at this time at all comparable with that of Germany. France, which has conferred upon the world so many of its greatest blessings—"head of the human column" in philanthropies as in other greatest things—followed other nations at that time, and has since, in the great movement for alleviating the horrors of war. The preparations of the Red Cross had to be made, to a considerable extent, after the conflict was on; but then with the utmost ardor France threw herself into the work. Within a month a thorough system was set in motion. Committees perfectly equipped were at the stations as the tide of the man-gled and bleeding began to roll back upon the capital. History has recorded the sufferings, the horrors, and misery which accompanied the war of 1870, but history can never relate what wretchedness was averted, what agonies alleviated, what multitudes of lives saved, by the presence and effort of those relief societies! What the state of France must have been without the merciful help of the Red Cross, the imagination dares not picture.

The states of Europe at peace at that time were also stirred to bountiful liberality. An outline of the stupendous work of the society would be incomplete without an allusion to this feature. England alone contributed 7,500,000 francs, and within a few months sent 12,000 boxes of sanitary supplies to the agents of the society.

We come now to the events which led to the formation of the American society. And here the explanation may be given which has doubtless been looked for quite curiously by readers of this paper—that is, why an account of the Red Cross Society should appear at all in a volume treating of Woman's Work in Philanthropy; for, so far as has yet appeared, the work of that society has been the work of men. Indeed, in the Old World all the societies are officered by men except those of Germany and Baden. But our American society has for its president a woman, Miss Clara Barton, and about three-fourths of its entire *personnel* are women. To understand the history of the Red Cross in America we must first understand something of the history of Miss Barton. For with such quietness, such single-minded devotion to duty alone, has her work been done, that—astounding as it may be to

those who know her well and love her—our own land are familiar only with her name. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Miss Barton, then a young woman, was spending some time in Washington. When news came that Northern troops *en route* to the capital had been fired upon and wounded, in Baltimore, she, with several others, volunteered to go and care for them. Her life-work opened before her that day. Thereafter she was in the hospitals, and wherever our soldiers were sick and in need of attendance. She came soon to be recognized as a woman of no common ability and discretion. She could go in her quiet, self-contained way among hospitals and camps anywhere in Washington unchallenged by the closest stickler for routine and red tape. She met the wounded as they poured in from Virginia, and she attended them upon the field. Military trains were at her service. She was present at the battles of Cedar Mountain, second Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburg; was eight months at the siege of Charleston, at Fort Wagner, in front of Petersburg, and at the Wilderness. She was also at the hospitals in Richmond and on Morris Island. Her labors were not over

even when the war ended; for, in obedience to the most tender of human sentiments, she remained at Andersonville five years, in order to mark as many as possible of the graves of the thirteen thousand Union prisoners there buried. The labor involved can hardly be imagined. When this sacred and self-imposed duty was over Miss Barton was utterly broken in health. Her physicians ordered her to Europe to recuperate. Health was still unsettled when, during the Franco-Prussian War, she was asked to join the relief corps of the Red Cross in the field, for her splendid work during the war at home was well known in Europe. She did heroic service on most of the battle-fields of France during that war, her experience and her knowledge being eagerly sought. When, in 1869, it became known that Miss Barton had arrived in Geneva, she was at once called upon by the President and members of the International Society of the Red Cross. They came to ask an explanation of the anomalous fact that the United States, which had shown the most scrupulous and tender care for its own wounded, organizing a sanitary service on a scale hitherto unthought of the world over, had held aloof

from and given the cold shoulder to the Red

Cross.

Miss Barton assured these gentlemen that she had never heard of the society, nor of the treaty of Geneva. After the nature, objects, and history of the great organization had been set out to her, she told her visitors that she could assure them that the United States—the *people* of the United States—were totally ignorant that proposals such as they alluded to had ever been submitted to our Government; that probably they had been referred to some department, or perhaps to some single official, who did not see fit to present them to our people, and that therefore the United States, as a nation, had never heard of them.

Miss Barton's great, tender, humanity-embracing heart became at once absorbed in studying the Geneva treaty and the societies under it. Of course she was aflame with enthusiasm and love for it; aflame also with shame that the United States was not a party to the treaty—not a member of a world's society having for its object "the amelioration of the condition of wounded soldiers in campaign on land or sea" (the maritime provision being added subsequent to the original treaty). She resolved that if

she lived to see her native land again she would give herself no rest until she had made our people acquainted with the treaty of Geneva.

In regard to the connection of our country with the Red Cross, let it be remembered that at the conference of 1863 we were represented by our minister at Bern, and that proposals were sent us to unite in the measures it set on foot, and that these proposals were disregarded. Again, after a convention held in 1868 in Paris, in which the United States was represented by Dr. Henry W. Bellows, the distinguished head of the Sanitary Commission, the subject was again presented to our Government by that gentleman, and articles submitted. Again, strangely enough, they met only indifference. Through the efforts of Dr. Bellows, however, a society was formed, but it lacked the feature essential to success—the sanction and sympathy of Government. This society was naturally short-lived.

We come to the events which, after many long years of indefatigable effort and patriotic devotion on the part of one tireless, patient woman, finally led to the formation of the Red Cross Society of America. Miss Barton came home after the war in

Europe was over, a suffering invalid. She lay for years upon a bed of weakness, and when at last nature rallied, she had to begin life almost like a little child and acquire everything anew, even the power to walk. As soon as she was able, she went to Washington and presented the subject of the Geneva treaty to the administration of President Hayes. This was in 1877. To give form and definiteness, the cause was bodied forth in a committee consisting of three women and one man. Two of these are still living—Miss Barton and Mr. John Hitz, a gentleman long resident at the Capitol as the representative of the Swiss Government in our country, of large brain, superior executive talent, and the kindest and tenderest heart.

The efforts of 1877 were fruitless, winning no response. Not until four years later, when another Soldier-president—the martyred Garfield—was in the chair, did the little society, brave and faith-sustained, receive assurances of sympathy from Government. The lamented Senator Windom laid the subject before the Cabinet. The President and all his Secretaries were at once cordially interested. Secretary of State Blaine, whose heart beat always in sympathy with

the heart of humanity, with a mind quick to perceive, and a hand swift to do the thing demanded to be done, wrote a warm letter of approval, and the President recommended in his first message to Congress our accession to the treaty. This was seventeen years after the first presentation of the subject to our Government. The society of 1877 reorganized and became incorporated as the American Association of the Red Cross.

But the time was not quite yet. President Garfield was denied the happiness of signing the Geneva treaty. This was reserved for his successor, President Arthur, who nobly and promptly took up the work, incorporating a plea for it in his first message to Congress. The Honorable Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate, of whom were Senators Edmunds, Morgan, and Tappan, all strong, true friends of the cause, received it favorably. The accession of the United States to the articles of the Geneva convention was agreed upon by Congress, and the treaty received the signature of President Arthur on the first day of March, 1882.

A modification of the treaty, some change in its articles, and some addition thereto were indispensable in order to adapt it to

the needs and purposes of the United States. In Europe the perpetual and ever-present condition is somewhat that of a colossal and various camp. Peace, even, seems more like an armed truce, for war ever menaces. So, in the Old World, the Red Cross has kept its first purpose—that of caring for the wounded and sick of belligerent armies.

But the United States, favored above other countries by geographical and political situation, is comparatively exempt from the danger of war. Partly because of this Heaven-bestowed exemption, and partly in order to secure one of the most essential conditions of usefulness in Red-Cross work—constant preparation and complete discipline in time of peace—it was deemed indispensable that her constitution should permit and encourage work other than that pertaining to armies. Incorporated among the articles of the treaty is a distinctly American and most important feature. It is that our society shall have for one of its objects aids to the suffering in times of great National calamity, such as floods and cyclones—visitations to which we are peculiarly liable—great fires, pestilence, earthquake, local famines. It is needless to say that its work has been exclusively in times of such calamities.

Its splendid achievements in this field remain to be told.

Misfortunes such as those named come in an instant and without warning. To prevent vast and untold suffering relief must be swift. Therefore, complete provision and preparation are essential. When the word speeds over the wires that fires have broken out in the forests of Michigan, the first great disaster after the society came into being, and that thousands are fleeing for their lives from burning dwellings, and are without food—even the beasts which might have served them being driven before the flame into streams and lakes—the President of the central society at Washington telegraphs the committee in Milwaukee and Chicago to hasten to the scene. In a few hours they are *en route*. She, with her own assistants, also, and as many from other auxiliaries as she thinks necessary, at once set out. Ample supplies are drawn upon and cars loaded with everything which can possibly be wanted. The primary needs of men are to be provided for. Tools and material for putting up cabins are on board; clothes, beds, bedding, cooking-utensils, tubs, soap, oil, tables and chairs, are part of the cargo. Arrived, they quickly, without confusion, set

to work to organize the men and women on the ground into working committees. They know just what needs doing first, and second, and third. By their thorough system, aided by the recognition and respect which their calmness and their resources inspire, the most urgent needs of the panic-stricken people are provided for in the shortest possible time. This accomplished, men and women begin to recover the use of their faculties, and can cast about to do for themselves. Weeks and months, when necessary, the Red Cross committees stay, expending their money, counselling, sustaining, helping the impoverished so that they can again begin to live and support their families.

Twelve great national calamities have claimed the services of the Red Cross. Next after the Michigan fires came the Ohio and Mississippi floods of 1882, then the Mississippi cyclone; again the floods of 1884; the Virginia epidemic; the Texas drought; the Charleston earthquake; the Mt. Vernon (Illinois) cyclone, and the great Johnstown disaster. In addition to these, it ministered also to the peasants of Russia during the great famine. Time would fail should one attempt to describe the work of the society in these times of distress. When the great

floods in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys occurred, and it was ascertained that widespread suffering existed, Miss Barton sent a notice to the Associated Press that the Red Cross would go to the rescue. Immediately supplies and money by thousands poured in. She, with her staff, including Dr. Hubbell, who, as field-agent, is her right hand, and Mr. Hitz, her trusted and efficient assistant, started for St. Louis. Here boats are chartered and loaded with every description of supplies, including forage for cattle. Down the Ohio and interminable Mississippi they steam, stopping all along at villages and cities where want is known to prevail. Quickly the citizens are called together, and a committee organized to distribute the supplies. Native insight and life-long experience enable Miss Barton to choose safely among these strangers. Everything is bestowed which is needed, and the boat steams on. The first that the inhabitants of these places know of relief, or of the Red Cross, is when the boat with the magical emblem draws up to their shores, and Miss Barton—the same blazon upon her arm—steps ashore and begins to assemble the people to inquire what is most wanted. Truly, she must seem to these stricken people, dazed

by sudden calamity, like a being from another planet.

No better occasion has occurred to illustrate the methods and also the magnificent bounty of the Red Cross than the unparalleled horror in the Conemaugh Valley. The first train from the East brought the President and fifty aides, and with them everything imaginable which human beings could need who were stripped of their all. Establishing themselves in tents, they began giving out food; a house-to-house, a *man-to-man* inspection being set up, that all might be provided for. Such was the perfect and universal confidence in the society that money and supplies continued to come, and soon depots had to be erected to receive them. The secretary brought together the women of Johnstown, bowed to the earth with sorrow and bereavement, and the most responsible were formed into committees charged with definite duties towards the homeless and distraught of the community. Through them the wants of over 3000 families—more than 20,000 persons—were made known in writing to the Red Cross, and by it supplied; the white wagons with the red symbol fetching and carrying for the stricken people. Barracks

were erected in which large numbers were housed and fed; then came the erection of two and four roomed dwellings, and the people, set in families once more, began to live, furniture being supplied by the society. A hospital was arranged—warm, light, and comfortable. All these buildings were, in the autumn, turned over to the city for use during the winter. Miss Barton and her corps remained till the last of October—four months—in the devastated, sorrow-stricken city. Among the most melting words ever written are those in the Johnstown papers of that date in regard to the Red Cross Society and its deeds in that city.

The vital idea of the Red Cross is not charity—it scorns the word—but friendliness, helpfulness. It is a privilege to do for those in trouble; they are neighbors in the Good Samaritan sense: in a word, human brotherhood is their creed, and nothing less than the true law of love as given by Jesus Christ their animating principle.

In March, 1893, the American Society received a long-desired and welcome gift. Dr. Joseph Gardner, of Bedford, Indiana, presented to it a tract of land comprising more than one square mile, with buildings,

fruit trees, and all appurtenances of a fertile and beautiful farm. In accepting this gift, Miss Barton says: "This land, as the property of the American National Red Cross, will be the one piece of neutral ground on the Western hemisphere, protected by international treaty against the tread of hostile feet. It is a perpetual sanctuary against invading armies, and will be so respected and held sacred by the military powers of the world. Forty nations are pledged to hold all material and stores of the Red Cross, and all its followers, neutral in war, and free to go and come as their duties require.

"While its business headquarters will remain as before at the capital of the Nation, the gift still forms a realization of the hopes so long cherished—that the National Red Cross may have a place to accumulate and produce material and stores for sudden emergencies and great calamities; and if war should come upon our land, which may God avert, we may be able to fulfil the mission that our adhesion to the Geneva treaty has made binding upon us.

"I will direct that monuments be erected defining the boundaries of this domain, dedicated to eternal peace and humanity,

upon which shall be inscribed the insignia of the treaty of Geneva, which insignia all the nations of the earth are bound by solemn covenant to respect.

"Not only our people, but the peoples of all civilized nations will have published to their knowledge that the American National Red Cross has a house and a recognized abiding-place through all generations.

"For this I have striven for years, mainly misunderstood, often misinterpreted, and it is through your clear intuition and humane thought that the clouds have been swept away and my hopes have been realized."

The writer lingers lovingly about her subject when writing of that consecrated woman, Clara Barton. Her superb executive ability must have impressed all who meet her. She influences and controls men and women not so much because of native gifts of leadership, as because of elevation of character, strong convictions, and high purposes. In person and manner she is gentle and womanly, her voice sweet and feminine; but that she is an unusual, peculiar woman, every one feels who meets her. That which is deeply borne in upon the mind is that she is totally without fear; that the "custom" which lies upon the rest

of us with such a weight lies not at all upon her; that for some deep reason she is a woman apart. She is law to her staff, and is worshipped by them.

A life devoted wholly to the highest objects, a heart single to the service of humanity, time, health, and fortune given without stint and without hope of earthly reward—history cannot fail to place her high on the roll of those who love God supremely, and her neighbor as herself.

In a little casket in Miss Barton's room lie some few jewels, badges of orders, gifts from royal persons, societies, and beneficiaries, visible testimonials of love, gratitude, and appreciation—a Court jewel from the Grand-duchess of Baden, a medal from the Queen of Italy, a badge from the Queen of Servia; the Iron Cross of Merit—given only for heroic deeds of kindness—from old Kaiser Wilhelm, and some other decorations. A beautiful brooch and pendant of diamonds testify to the abounding gratitude and love of the people of Johnstown.

The Central Society of the Red Cross is housed in Washington in a manner becoming its importance. It occupies a large, handsome mansion, dignified by age and by historic associations, having been during the Civil

War the headquarters of General Grant. Its interior walls are covered with flags of many nations, the crimson banner of Switzerland occupying the place of honor. The house looks out on Grand Army Place and on the beautiful mall to the rear of the White House, and directly fronts the magnificent edifice of the War Department. The expenses of this establishment, as well as those of Miss Barton herself, are defrayed from her private fortune.

From the tower of this mansion floats the white flag, emblazoned with its sacred symbol, signifying to all the world that the United States is in league with thirty-nine other peoples of the earth to promote human brotherhood, and thus to help bring in the reign of peace.

THE INDIAN.

(First Paper.)

BY MRS. AMELIA STONE QUINTON, PRESIDENT
OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSO-
CIATION.

OF the many reasons which inspired the formation of the Women's National Indian Association the most cogent were that it was not in law a crime to kill an Indian, and that he had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. He was still subject to enforced removals from his own land; he was constantly robbed; the United States Indian agent had despotic power over him, and could suspend all trade on the reservation, could suspend the chief, and drive off or arrest all visitors whose presence he might not approve or desire. The Indian could not make contracts; he could not himself sell anything he could raise or manufacture, except to the trader appointed by Government; he had no legal title or interest in the annual productions of the soil; he was banished to wild reservations, and re-

quired to farm when farming was impossible even to instructed farmers, and at the same time he was deprived of arms and ammunition for hunting, and was then forbidden to leave the reservation! The white man supplanted him in trapping and hunting, in the seal and salmon fisheries of the Pacific coast; and though the Indian was a natural herder of cattle, it was made a felony for him to sell them. Our nation practically prohibited all lines of work natural to him, and falsified its promises to furnish him means for farming—the one kind of labor prescribed and insisted upon. There was ceaseless oppression, and all these crimes burn with a lurid light in the records of our dealings with Indians. How great a debt to the Indian has our nation contracted by all these crimes against his natural rights, his manhood, his humanity! And many of these wrongs still exist.

The agitation of this subject was at last popularly begun in 1879, by the work now known as that of The Women's National Indian Association, and this was the first organization devoted to this object. The Indian Rights Association, organized by Herbert Welsh, Esq., began its admirable and efficient service just as the fourth annual petition of the women's society was ready for Congress.

It was the persistent appeals of this women's society to all classes of citizens, by petitions and assemblies, political, philanthropic, and religious—and its work through the press—which originated the modern popular movement on behalf of Indians; and it was these efforts with those of the Indian Rights Association and other friends of Indians, combined with the great work of Senator Dawes, which, in March, 1887, secured the passage of the Dawes Severalty Bill which forever opened the door of United States citizenship to the red man and gave to him lands in severalty with legal protection. The Association's second petition asked for all the rights of Indians, and it was its third petition, in February, 1882, which asked for the common school and industrial education of all Indian children, for lands in severalty, and citizenship. Of the Association's earnest, persistent, and widely extended agitation of this subject, Senator Dawes, long chairman of the Senate Indian Committee, said that "the new Indian policy of government" now everywhere approved was born of and nursed by the women of this Association."

The chief work of the Association is done by national standing committees or depart-

ments, by State auxiliaries and their local branches. The general organization is federal and simple.

Any group of persons interested can form themselves into an Indian Association, and on applying to the national Executive Board can be received, if willing to adopt some of the Association's lines of labor and to work in harmony with it. Its literature and further instructions can be had from the Corresponding Secretary. A simpler organization, in cases where a fully organized association is not practicable, is the formation of an Indian Committee, by a vote of any meeting called to hear of the work of this Association, and such committee needs but a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. It need not have a constitution or regular meeting. To meet when called by the chairman for some special work contemplated, or when an interesting speaker can be obtained, would suffice. Such a committee should enroll as contributing members all who give any sum whatever for the work of the local or national organization; the members should spread intelligence of the needs of Indians and invite friends to aid with gifts; should insert facts on the Indian situation in local papers, and, at need, send letters and peti-

tions to their Representatives in Congress on behalf of just Indian legislation, or against unjust measures under consideration. They could provide a box of clothing or other supplies for a needy tribe. In every community there are doubtless some who would esteem it a privilege thus to help finish the work needed for our native heathen, and in discharge of a debt which all citizens of this country owe to the aboriginal race whose oppression and cruel treatment all with shame recognize and deplore. This kind of Indian work can be done in the smallest village or rural neighborhood, and the small gifts of many helpers would make an aggregate which would enable the Women's National Indian Association soon to supply with missions the destitute tribes and separated parts of tribes. We have forty-eight States and Territories, a number amply able to furnish the help now lacking if each State were during a year to furnish means to open but one new mission, or about \$1500.

What is the work of the Women's National Indian Association? It is the work of informing the public of the needs, capabilities, and progress of our native Indians, and also it is the work of moving the Govern-

ment, by direct appeals, to render just help to them. It also points out how Indians may wisely be helped industrially, educationally, morally, and religiously, and it seeks to win such help for them.

Second, it is the work of sending helpers to reside among Indians to labor for their instruction and elevation, to assist them in home-building, in special and professional education, by hospital work, and in all other practical and practicable ways.

The first of the above services is rendered by the circulation of literature and petitions, by work through the press, by public meetings, and Legislative work actively done for the past fourteen years.

The Missionary Department was introduced in 1884, and remembering that many tribes have waited more than a hundred years in vain for the gospel, its object is to supply all destitute tribes and separated parts of tribes of this country with a good mission. This work, with Government approval and aid on its own lines, and *done only in tribes and portions of tribes where no mission work is being done by any church or denominational society or missionaries*, has the plan of transferring each station and of giving its mission property, land, cottage, and

chapel to some one of the permanent societies as soon as one of these will accept it for permanent work. In this way the Association helps all the great missionary organizations by the process of securing the missions which these societies are not at present financially able to inaugurate.

As defined to its workers this missionary work is to teach Indians to make and properly keep comfortable homes; to teach them domestic work and arts; to prepare food and make clothing; to care for the sick and for children; to respect work and to become self-supporting; to influence and to help them to learn the English language; and above all, to teach them the truths of the gospel, and to seek their conversion to practical Christianity. This pioneer work, done by the Association as a whole or by its State auxiliaries, is such as is done in our great cities, and includes house-to-house visitation, day and Sunday-schools, instruction in temperance and the other moralities, and religious teaching. This work in the tribes finds the individuals who desire and are worthy of special education, and those who can well use loan funds for home building, and for the purchase of implements, sewing-machines, and furniture. It also

sees the political and other wrongs needing redress at the agencies, and often goes far towards finding the remedies for these. Our missionary work also furnishes boxes of clothing and goods where these can be wisely used, and sent such aid to thirty tribes last year. Other gifts, such as hardware and ploughs, have been sent to a few whom Government could not or did not supply, and the surprise and delight of the recipients were a sermon to see.

The Home-building work adopted by the Association in 1885 is an interesting department, and has builded or well-repaired, by loan funds, fifty to sixty homes which have changed the lives of probably a hundred Indians, and have been centres of light, civilization, and right influence in the various tribes where they have been planted. Loaned funds have done a beneficent service also in the purchase of implements and kindred helps to civilization, in awakening right ambitions, and in the development of Indian capabilities; and the debts thus incurred have been paid even more promptly than could reasonably have been expected. Assistance of this sort has been given to the Omahas, Winnebagoes, Kiowas, Sioux, Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Hoopas, Nook-

sachks, and Alaskans. Loans of from two to five hundred dollars have been made to enable Indians to build homes, and smaller sums, varying from five to one hundred dollars, have been furnished to assist applicants in the purchase of farming implements, horses, harness, crockery, window-glass, doors, small hardware, clothing, cooking utensils, etc., etc.

Our Educational Work has been domestic and industrial largely, and has been done in evening schools, though three day schools in destitute places have been conducted with the aid of Government. The work of aiding bright Indians in *professional education* has also been served by the Special Education Committee, elected November, 1888, and by individuals or auxiliaries, or by joint gifts of branches. One of those who received such education, and the first Indian woman physician, is Dr. Susan La Flesche, now Government physician among her people, the Omahas. Others have been aided in medical education or trained as nurses, while others have been aided to prepare for teaching, or for other work among their own people.

The department of Indian Libraries has wrought wide benefit, providing reading-matter for returned Indian students, for

reading-rooms on reservations, and in the schools and chapels. Already there are seventy-five Indian schools into which periodicals are going, and these are doing much to Americanize the young Indians. One superintendent says: "If you could see the children at Kakomish devouring the *St. Nicholas* and *Century* pictures, you would realize the degree in which you are aiding our work. It is not too much to say that their little stock of literature is opening a new life to them. Its effect is so important that I would hardly call it an adjunct to their school-work—rather a complement. It is inciting them to what we wish above all things, conversation in English. It gives them an interest in American affairs. Even the *handling* of one of the best magazines with its excellent illustrations, has a great influence on a child."

Hospital Work was adopted as a department in 1890. Miss Porter, who had been head-nurse at Hampton Institute for nine years, went to Crow Creek as "field matron" for the winter. In accepting this Government position her salary was secured, and she was allowed to visit freely among the Indians. Her work was primarily to care for the sick, but it necessarily led to thorough

knowledge of the physical condition and needs of the people, and gave good opportunities for teaching them simple rules of health.

The Young People's Department, added in 1889, has enlisted vigorous assistance from many bands of young people who have sent gifts and important contributions of literature, besides widely advertising Indian needs and methods of supplying them. The supply of work for all existing societies and all prospective ones is at present inexhaustible, and the variety equally so. All ages and talents can find occupation in providing help through all our departments. Missionaries' cottages want carpet or rugs, furniture, pictures, and bright fancy articles, to make them attractive homes. These need not always be new or cost much money. A little judicious begging will frequently bring encouraging results.

More than eighty thousand allotments of land have been made or are in process of completion, including those which antedate the severalty law, about twenty thousand allotments having been made since the law was enacted. The Indians holding these allotments have passed out of helpless savage relations into the status of free men,

under our flag, and the path to this all-including privilege is now open to all of the aboriginal race among us. To help the great majority of those who have not yet been able to avail themselves of the new privilege, and still further to confirm in civilization, and aid in development the twenty thousand new Indian citizens, are two reasons why we still labor as an Association on their behalf.

The *economy* of missionary work will be seen from an official statement that "In seven years it cost the United States \$1,848,000 for the support of 1200 Dakota Indians in a savage state. The cost for seven years after they were Christianized was \$120,000; a saving of \$1,728,000, or \$246,857 per annum."

The result is that during the last eight years twenty-five mission stations have been established, directly or indirectly, and have been transferred, and are now in Methodist, Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, or Moravian care; and these are located in Indian Territory, in North and South Dakota, Nebraska, California, Idaho, and Florida. In the two Dakotas alone there are, by Dr. Dorchester's Report, not less than eleven thousand Indians in

connection with Christian churches, and the year-books of the denominations contain statistics which are ample encouragement to undertake all needed missions among them.

There are still about sixty Indian agents, and these have, even at this late date, often too great power for the safety of any race under them. These agents have been appointed almost wholly for political services rendered, rather than for fitness for the work of civilizing a savage people, and great effort is still needed for reform in the method of appointing important Indian officials, though Civil Service Reform has already been applied to many classes of appointments in the Indian service. To labor for the speediest wise abolition of agents and agencies; to gain the application of Civil Service Reform to all Indian officials while these are needed; to help guard Indian interests from fraud; to help move Government to provide irrigation in regions where Indian agriculture is impossible without it; to aid in securing appropriations for the education of all Indians of school age; and to move American Christians to place Christian missions within reach of all Indians, are other reasons for the continuance of our work.

THE INDIAN—A WOMAN AMONG THE INDIANS.

(Second Paper.)

BY MRS. ELAINE GOODALE EASTMAN.

I HAVE been asked to present the Indian question from a woman's stand-point—"the stand-point of a woman whose knowledge is immediate and personal." Therefore I make no apology for a recital of personal experience. I have observed, also, that most people prefer to hear facts rather than generalizations, and that a story is more interesting than a theory. I have been in the Indian work for nine years, and was, during most of that time, by my own choice, immediately associated with the people for whom I was working. I began as a teacher in an Eastern school, and very soon, desiring a nearer glimpse of Indian life, visited eight Indian Agencies in Dakota during the vacation. Struck by the crying need of more and better workers in the Govern-

ment schools, especially in the small "camp schools," I chose my new field in a wild Sioux village, on the Missouri River, where there was a deserted shell of a school-house, but no school for eight years. I went there with a friend, and we worked for two years together with the greatest enthusiasm, actually enjoying the hardships, difficulties, and successes of our pioneer life. We both assiduously studied the Dakota language, and found it an invaluable aid to confidence and success. She assisted me in teaching the school of forty to fifty children, and I helped her in the duties of a missionary, to which she was appointed, holding women's meetings and prayer meetings, teaching Sunday-school, instructing classes for baptism, visiting the sick (and, indeed, visiting everybody), and giving the women such aid and suggestion in house-keeping, cooking, sewing, and domestic science generally as is now given by the "field-matrons" appointed by Government. I look back with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction upon the three years I lived at "White River Lodge," as we called our cosy cabin. (I stayed one year after my friend left me, calling upon a near relative to fill her place.) I became strongly attached to the people there, and I think I

won their affection and respect. There were about two hundred men, women, and children in our village, and all except two or three (who had attended the same Eastern school where we had served as teachers) were called wild, or "blanket," Indians. There are no Indians nowadays on the reservations who live a really wild life. These nearly all possessed rude log-cabins, plastered with mud and roofed with sods, upon which flourished the wild sunflower and other weeds; although they wisely improved the hot weather by occupying the cooler and cleaner "teepees" of white cotton cloth.

They drew rations at the Agency once a week; and the journey consumed two or three days out of seven. They also eked out their scanty supplies by cultivating small patches of land; indeed, there were some really fine wheat-fields in the river-bottoms, as well as flourishing gardens of corn, melons, etc. It is true that the Indians worked in a fashion which seems to us like playing at work. A man who wanted his five-acre lot ploughed would call all his neighbors together for a ploughing-bee. After wasting a great deal of time in getting together, in catching the ponies and mending the harness and "preparing to begin," all would

toil enthusiastically for an hour or two, then sit down and smoke for another hour, then another spurt of exertion, and, finally, an abundant picnic dinner, at which plenty of boys and idlers appeared, would close the day. And yet, when the small inducement to labor is considered, and the difficulties under which it is performed, and, above all, the fact that it is not really necessary, one may rather wonder that the Agency Indian works at all.

With the women it is quite different. They, too, are cheerful and gregarious, and spend a great deal of time in gossip and visiting, but they are certainly industrious and systematic in comparison with the men. They no longer do the field-work, but may still be seen carrying wood and water, and performing other tasks which seem to us to be drudgery, but are light to them beside the complex burdens of civilized house-keeping. It seemed really unkind to teach them that they must wash dishes and make beds, make white underclothing and keep it clean, and fashion for themselves dresses with superfluous ruffles and unnecessary button-holes. They learn all these details, however, with what seems to us wonderful willingness and facility, and a few months

sees starched white skirts, and delicious raised bread in earth-floored cabins which hold forth little promise of such finished products of civilization.

It seems at first as if the women were a little slower of comprehension than the men, and less apt to receive new ideas—in other words, as much more heavily-built mentally as they certainly are physically. Their broad, shapeless figures, clumsy movements, and the deliberation with which they weigh a point which you think demands immediate action, are not at all attractive; but there is a distinctively *womanly* quality about these Indian wives and mothers which wins your regard upon a nearer acquaintance. I think they are as devoted, as self-forgetful and willing to labor for the good of their households as any of our sex anywhere in the world.

The children are delightful; and the younger and smaller and wilder they are, the more fascinating in their innocent *naïveté*. Only two or three of mine had ever been to school before, or knew a word of English, and every one of them is a distinct personality to me now. I can shut my eyes and see the quaint little figures—the tousled black heads, the sparkling black eyes, the trailing

red shawls, and ragged shirts—against a background of sunburnt prairie or the yellow pine walls of my school-room. Some of them learned the mysteries of the books and the mischief of the average school-boy with about equal rapidity, while others, invariably obedient, were, alas! hopelessly dull.

We taught many industries in our school, albeit it was only a day school. The girls learned to make and mend, to wash and iron, to cook and serve palatable food. The boys cultivated a small garden, and waited upon the girls!

A mid-day lunch was served to all. I am a strong believer in the effectiveness of the industrial day school, when properly managed; and if I could have but one form of distinctively Indian school, I should prefer it to any other. The influence upon the whole village is very great, and the pupil, having completed his primary education there, can enter a more advanced school in wholesome competition with white children and youth. This plan has thus far shown the best results.

The men of our camp were described as unusually stubborn in their resistance to all progress. We were received at the first with a friendly response to our genuine desire to

help them, but there was a certain amount of opposition to the school, which had to be gradually overcome. We found that if we could win over the children, their indulgent parents would give us no further trouble. One especially attractive little maid, as shy as she was pretty, whose Roman-nosed father treated our advances with lofty indifference, hovered about the school-house for weeks before we could entice her in. Evidently she could not keep away; and, one morning, it happened that when she appeared in the neighborhood all the children were piling into big wagons, with baskets of edibles, and a joyful confusion reigned instead of the usual pleasant order. We were going to celebrate our first school picnic. The ragged red shawl drew nearer, and a longing look came into the big brown eyes. A smile and a nod of invitation, and the maiden skipped into the back of one of the wagons, where she kept her picturesque tatters as much out of sight as possible, among the crisp gingham and new straw sailors already assumed by her mates.

They were very good to her, however, and I think she had a thoroughly happy day. At any rate, she came to school

bright and early the next morning, and soon proved herself one of our very best scholars.

Not only among the women and children is the influence of a pure woman felt for good. It is equally powerful in its effect upon the undeveloped nature of the Indian young men. Her superior knowledge, her fearlessness, and her goodness seem to fill them with admiration and almost awe, and she can persuade them to study and to think, and to give up some of their old bad habits, when an equally good *man* would not influence them at all.

At one time I had an evening school for a class who were too old for the day school, and whose touching eagerness to learn filled me with a desire to help them.

It was the most interesting part of my work for the time being, because of the zeal and patience of my pupils. I have had all sorts of knotty questions to settle for these tall scholars of mine: I have been asked to advise concerning a trade, a church, a love affair, and have several times attempted to reconcile husband and wife.

While absorbed in this inspiring work, I realized that the teacher or missionary, however hard she tried to enter into their lives,

so different from her own, could see only one side of the Indian.

I wanted to look at the world from his stand-point if I could, and with this object in view I obtained permission (not without difficulty) of a party of wild Indians whom I knew, to accompany them on a deer-hunt.

This was after I had resigned from my school. We were out nine weeks in rain and shine, plenty or scarcity, and I shared the varying fortunes of the party as one of themselves, dressing as much like them as I could, eating their food, sleeping on the ground in my own tent, which they carried for me, and riding an Indian pony all the way. I was treated with kindness and respect which never failed; and although some things about the trip were not pleasant, I have always been glad that I took it, for I am sure that in no other way could I have gained equal insight into the nature and customs of the red man. I can now "put myself in his place" with considerable ease, and am less severe upon his failings, and even his vices, than I used to be.

The experience which I have so slightly outlined covers yet another phase. Soon

after General Morgan, the late excellent Commissioner of Indian Affairs, came into office he overstepped precedent by appointing two women to inspect and supervise Indian school-work. One of these women was Mrs. Dorchester, the wife of the Indian School Superintendent, the other was myself. Since nearly half the pupils and a large majority of the teachers in these schools are women, the plan of putting women in the field as Special Agents, Supervisors, or whatever you choose to call them, seemed a judicious one.

I resigned one year later, to accept the yet more honorable position of wife and mistress of a household, and I regret that a woman was not appointed in my place.

I enjoyed this work thoroughly, although it involved the fatigues of constant travel and open-air life, to which I had become somewhat inured. I visited about fifty schools, widely scattered upon the various Sioux reservations, inspected and reported upon them in detail, and made whatever suggestions to the teachers seemed to me to be practicable. Often I taught a school for a half day, while the teacher looked on. I found some good work, and much that was unskilled and faulty.

The trained teacher was the exception then in these schools; but the quality is, I think, improving every year, and especially now that the Civil Service rules are in force in this branch of the service.

My knowledge of the Sioux tongue and acquaintance with the people were utilized in every village through which I passed, to inspire the parents, if possible, with greater interest in and comprehension of the work the schools were doing. I also listened to their requests or complaints, and found them usually worthy of attention. I do not believe in the common policy of Indian Agents who suppress every expression of unfavorable opinion on the part of the Indians, and endeavor to prevent their free discussion of matters which interest them more than anybody else, and which ought to be thought of and discussed by them.

In conclusion, I will say that my nine years of work among the Indians has given me a better opinion of their capacity and a worse opinion of the system under which, and the men by whom, they are managed, than a majority of people entertain.

If a number of women, as good and as bright as are so many of our sex, could be put into the field at once as Indian Agents,

as Inspectors, as School Superintendents and Supervisors, with a small army of capable women teachers and field matrons under them, I have no doubt that the day of salvation for the red man would be brought much nearer than it is to-day.

THE ANTISLAVERY STRUGGLE.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS WRITERS.

To the Periodical Literature of Antislavery the women of New York State contributed as large and honorable a share as to its other phases of stirring and dangerous activity. Mrs. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON thus sketches the antecedents and preparation for their heroic struggle.

“In gathering up the threads of history in the last century and weaving its facts and philosophy together, one can trace the liberal social ideas growing out of the political and religious revolutions in France, Germany, Italy, and America, and their tendency to substitute for the divine right of kings, priests, and orders of nobility the higher and broader one of individual conscience and judgment in all matters pertaining to this life and that which is to come. It is not surprising that in so marked a transition period from the old to the new, as seen in the eighteenth century, that wom-

en, trained to think and write and speak, should have discovered that they, too, had some share in the new-born liberties suddenly announced to the world. While in their ignorance women are usually more superstitious, more devoutly religious than men, those trained to thought have generally manifested more interest in political questions, and have more frequently spoken and written on such themes than on those merely religious. This may be attributed, in a measure, to the fact that the tendency of woman's mind at this stage of her development is towards practical rather than towards speculative science.

"A great educational work for women was accomplished by the Antislavery struggle in this country. Woman not only felt every pulsation of man's heart for freedom, and by her enthusiasm inspired the glowing eloquence that maintained him through the struggle, but earnestly advocated with her own lips and pen human freedom and equality."

Closely united with Mrs. Stanton in a friendship of thirty years is the Quaker, SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Miss Anthony's petitions, arguments, editorials, and addresses,

individual, and co-operative with Mrs. Stanton, are not less numerous than they are keen, logical, and persuasive. If Mrs. Stanton was the Napoleon, Miss Anthony was the Sir John Lawrence of those hard-fought fields. We quote her stirring arraignment of the law at whose bar she, a tax-paying, educated, and morally-responsible citizen, stood a prisoner, charged with the offence of "voting without having a lawful right to vote."

"But yesterday," she pleaded, "the same man-made forms of law declared it a crime punishable with \$1000 fine and six months' imprisonment for you, or me, or any of us to give a cup of cold water, a crust of bread, or a night's shelter to a panting fugitive as he was tracking his way to Canada. And every man or woman in whose veins courses a drop of human sympathy violated that wicked law, reckless of consequences, and was justified in so doing. As, then, the slaves who got their freedom must take it over, or under, or through the unjust forms of law, precisely so now must women, to get their right to a voice in this Government, take it; and I have taken mine, and mean to take it at every possible opportunity. And I shall earnestly and persistently continue

to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old revolutionary maxim, that 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'

That brilliant adopted citizen of New York, the Polish Jew, Sijsmund Potoski, better known as Mrs. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, who knew something of European despotism, writes: "We can hardly have an adequate idea how all powerful law is in forming public opinion. To illustrate this point, look at that inhuman, detestable law written in human blood, signed and sealed with life and liberty, that eternal stain on the statute-books of this country, the Fugitive Slave Law. Think you that before its passage you could have found any in the Free States base enough to desire such a law? No, no! Even those that took no interest in the subject would have shrunk from so barbarous a thing; but no sooner is it passed than the ignorant mass, the rabble of the self-styled 'Union Safety Committee,' found out that we were a law-loving and law-abiding people. Such is the magic power of law; hence the necessity to guard against bad ones, and if the law and the public voice behind it are oppressive and unjust, then

they should be spurned like the voice of falsehood and corruption, even though one thereby incur the ill-will of passion, bigotry, and superstitious conservatism."

Mrs. J. ELIZABETH JONES, one of the early and steadfast abolitionists, full of cares, domestic and philanthropic, with press-work and lecturing, now at fourscore enjoying the first taste of leisure, writes, with some of the old-time warmth: "It is some compensation for great evils that they enforce great lessons."

Mrs. ELIZABETH OAKES SMITH, poet and patriot, wrote: "All who take their stand against false institutions are in some sense embittered. They taste the gall and vinegar with the Divine Master. Their large hearts took in the whole sense of human woe, and bled for those who had become brutalized by its weight, and they spoke as never man spoke in his own individualism, but as the embodied race will speak when the full time is come."

Mrs. FRANCES DANA GAGE, whose birth in the West, of New England parents, and subsequent residence in New York City, entitle

her to the summing-up for woman, writes :
 " Shall we talk of failure because forty years, twenty years, or seven years have not perfected all things? When intemperance shall have passed away, when the four million chattel slaves shall sing songs of freedom, when woman shall be recognized as man's equal, socially, legally, and politically, there will yet be reforms and reformers, and men who will despair and look upon one branch of reform as the *great battle-ground*, and talk of the failure of the eternal law of progress. But truth and right are sustained by no single point; their watchword is 'Onward.' "

THE ANTISLAVERY LEGACY.

"EDUCATE YOUR MASTERS." (Reprinted from *Popular Science Monthly*.)

BY MAUD WILDER GOODWIN.

WHAT shall we do with the negro? It is a question of self-interest and protection. The negro has come to stay. The race at present numbers some seven or eight millions, and actually holds the balance of power numerically in several of the Southern States.

The black belt, as it is to-day, is a menace to the country from Mississippi to Maine, because it is black with the darkness of idleness and ignorance and immorality. It must soon be decided whether it shall grow darker and darker, or shall come to shine, like the Belt of Orion, with the light of intelligence and industry. The problem touches all who believe that government rests on good citizenship, and good citizenship on individual enlightenment,

and that education is the tortoise which supports Atlas in his task of holding up the world.

We are confronted by a solid mass of ignorant citizens, nominally if not actually in possession of the ballot, and potent to make or mar the fabric of the republic. This mass is not decreasing but increasing. What is to be done about it? No matter whether we care for the negro or his welfare. If we care for the nation, we must give this question earnest consideration. We are entitled to hold the most divergent opinions on the subject, but we are not entitled to indifference—that fatal policy of letting alone growing evils which has wrecked so many communities.

There can be no divided opinion on the desirability of educating citizens of any race or color. The question, then, so far as the negro is concerned, resolves itself into three: Is he capable of being educated? What system of education best meets his temperament and condition? and, How can such education be given him?

To put the last two questions is, of course, to assume an affirmative answer to the first. Assuredly the negro can be educated. We may assume so much of a horse or a dog.

How far, is another story, as Rudyard Kipling would say. All speculation on the comparative intellectual capacity of the black race is idle. Any accurate estimate must be based on data which, in the nature of things, cannot be available for some centuries to come.

To the closest observers at the South the progress of the negro appears, on the whole, remarkable, though statistics might be prepared to present a very different view. It is a well-worn truth that civilization is classification, and so it is proving with the blacks. Some of them have progressed, and some reverted almost to barbarism. Slavery itself was in its time a great school of civilization. It held a semi-barbarous race in close contact with their superiors. When that bond was loosened, those negroes who had the fibre of freedom in them stood erect in independent manhood; the others sank to earth in abject hopelessness.

Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the close of the war. Those years have solved many problems and harmonized many differences, but they have not solved the problem of lifting the mass of the blacks to the plane of intelligent citizenship. There is much secret sympathy at the North with

the suppression of the negro vote, because it is believed that it is not so much the result of race prejudice as of the determination of an intelligent minority not to be ruled by an ignorant and degraded majority. To begin civilization with the ballot is like beginning the Bible with Revelation—it is reading backward. Let us not reopen the question of the wisdom of the Government when, hurried on by the passions of both North and South, it armed the negro with the ballot as his sole protection. That is done. Our problem is before us. As the Oriental proverb runs: "To-day is ours; yesterday and to-morrow belong to God."

The negro must be educated; but how? Education is a good word, but, unfortunately, vague. It may include everything, from the alphabet to the whole sweep of arts and letters. It may be general or technical; physical, mental, or moral. Let us try to arrive at a more definite understanding of it. There is, perhaps, no better parallel for the education of a race than the education of a child, only for every five years we must take five hundred. Men *fall* into vice, but they *climb* into virtue. Nothing could be more unreasonable than to expect to see any marked change from

the conditions engendered by slavery in so brief a period as thirty years; yet we hear the accusation constantly made against the negro that he is still a lazy, idle vagabond. Perhaps he is, but it is only another illustration of Franklin's parable, wherein Abraham is represented as wishing to cast the wanderer out of his tent because he will not worship Jehovah. But the Lord rebuked Abraham, saying, "Have I not borne with thee these ninety and nine years, and couldst thou not bear with him one night?"

Scarcely a day, as history measures time, has elapsed since the negroes, trained for centuries to depend on others for the means of livelihood, found themselves flung rudely into the grim struggle for existence. Not a foot of land was given them by the Government. No one ever heard of a negro reservation. They were left naked to their enemies—not the white men round them, but those far more relentless foes, the accursed slave habits, the inheritance of generations. The fatal weakness of slavery to the enslaved lies in the fact that its teachings strike at the root of character by eliminating the idea of moral responsibility. No soul, no sin. If the marriage tie may

be broken at the will of the master, assuredly it will be at the pleasure of the slave. If the servant is a chattel, there is force in his logic that in converting chicken into slave, he is only changing the form of property. The virtues of the slave are unquestioning obedience and passive resignation. The fundamental virtues of the freeman are self-assertion and active, unflinching resistance to any attack on his rights.

The close of the war saw millions of slaves suddenly enfranchised. How were they to be safely translated from one condition to another, to enjoy liberty without running into license, to defend themselves without offending others—in a word, to become good citizens? To the great goodfortune of the negro, the contraband camp at Hampton, Va., was placed under the control of General Samuel C. Armstrong, a man fitted for his position, not only by having served in the war as a leader of black troops, but by having passed his boyhood in the Sandwich Islands. It seemed providential that he had had such an opportunity of studying close at hand the evolution from barbarism of a dark-skinned Polynesian people closely resembling in many ways the negro in America.

Of the Islanders he wrote: "They seemed to have accepted, but not to have fully adopted, Christianity; for they did not have the conditions of living which make high standards of morality possible." Now again he was forced to see and deplore the process of pietizing without moralizing, repeated under his eye in the camp meetings of the South. No heathen is so difficult to deal with as the negro who has run through the whole gamut of religious experience, and still retains his original weakness for pilfering watermelons.

General Armstrong's scientific study of the negro led him early to the belief that the only hope for him lay not in being helped, but in being taught to help himself; that a successful system of training must take into account the equal development of heart, hand, and head. To work out this theory he consented to take charge of the School for Freedmen which was gradually evolved from the Hampton camp. Here, on the spot, rich in historic memories, where freedom first came to the slave through Benjamin F. Butler's famous order declaring him "contraband of war," on the shores of the broad bay where the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* closed in their deadly embrace,

General Armstrong opened his educational campaign.

"The thing to be done was clear: to train selected negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to these ends, to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character. And it seemed equally clear that the people of the country would support a wise work for the freedmen."

Time has more than justified his foresight. The negroes receive such industrial training as to make them masters of their own faculties; a financial training that teaches how to save and how to spend money; and afterwards as high an intellectual education as they shall show capacity and desire for. The first essential in making the blacks independent is to make them home-owners and property-holders. This is not a difficult task, for the negroes have a land-hunger. The difficulty lies in their improvident habits, which too often result in mortgaged houses and farms.

The emancipation of the slaves in America threatened to follow the same course as the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, where the boon of liberty turned to calamity and curse. Slavery under masters, often made considerate by habit, was exchanged for an industrial slavery far more bitter. The emancipated Russian serfs fell into the hands of the usurers, who first established and then foreclosed mortgages on the little farms granted to the newly enfranchised. At the South, too, the mortgaged farm has been a weapon of tyranny. Once let a negro own his ground, and he is indeed free; once let him own a mortgage on a white man's farm, and he is master of the situation. Such is the testimony of Booker Washington, himself the best illustration of the progress of the race. Coming to Hampton with fifty cents as his entire capital, he worked his way through the school, and went out to found a similar one at Tuskegee, Alabama. And the best hope for the future was unintentionally expressed by a Southern white man, who, after seeing him pass on the street, exclaimed, with an oath, "By ——! it's all I can do to help saying 'Mister' to him."

Booker Washington is firm in the faith

that his brothers will never succeed until they learn to depend on themselves, and that self-dependence is best fostered by the ownership of land. A property-owning negro is not only secure of his rights, but he has a vital interest in the stability of government, and thus becomes a citizen in the fullest sense, without distinction of race or color. Rev. S. J. Barrows writes :

"General Armstrong has built a new Uncle Tom's Cabin, and it is very different from the old. You may see the difference in the Black Belt. There is the old cabin with its one door, and perhaps no window; and there, not far away, is the new one built by the Hampton graduate, two stories high, perhaps, nicely carpeted and furnished, something better than 'hog and hominy' to eat, books on the shelf. Such a home is a beacon-light in the community to diffuse intelligence and the spirit of order and progress. That is what Hampton is doing. It is building homes and schools all through the South."

A man once excused himself for begging from Dr. Johnson by explaining: "You see, my dear sir, I must live." "Really," replied the sturdy old doctor, "I don't see the necessity." Now, it is a fact in political

economy that the killing off of one-third of the black population at the South would probably prove a benefit to civilization. It would work like the thinning out of a forest jungle, leaving room for the sun and air to reach the survivors; but the law has not yet authorized this process of scientific weeding out of the unfittest. The question is not, Shall the negro poor live? but How shall they live? Pauperism does not stop procreation. The next generation will be called upon to solve our problem several times multiplied. The negro is a Rip van Winkle, who has suddenly waked into a dizzy world of prosperity and progress. He cannot hope at present to compete for the prizes, but is he therefore to be counted out as a factor in the world's work? "Not so," said General Armstrong, and as proof of it he points to the achievements of Hampton.

Hampton stands, above all, for industrial education. The institutions at Petersburg, Nashville, and Atlanta are all working for the education of the colored race. Some of them have technical schools, but it is at Hampton alone that industrial training and manual labor form the key-stone of the educational arch. Thoroughness and ac-

curacy are taught at the carpenter's bench and the blacksmith's forge. But the artisans are not left untaught in other things. The night school is crowded every evening with eager learners of two races. Negroes and Indians study side by side, with benefit to both races. Their horizon is widened by the interchange of experiences from such diverse regions as the West and South, the prairie and the cotton-field. Even as children learn from each other more readily than from grown people, so these child races are teaching and training one another.

When the Indians were introduced into the school, some fifteen years ago, it was feared that the discipline and general *morale* of the institution would suffer. These have, on the contrary, steadily improved. The principle of student-government has been introduced. The boys, negro and Indian, are formed into a battalion. Cases of insubordination are dealt with by a court-martial detailed from among the officers, who report their sentence for the approval of the faculty of the school. The system is admirably adapted to its purpose. It develops both discipline and a sense of honor. To compel a boy, under ordinary circumstances, to report the conduct of his

comrades is to make him a spy and informer, but when he acts as guard or sentinel he falls at once into the attitude of military obedience.

Nothing shows keener insight into the character of the negro than the establishment of this semi-military basis. A uniform, gay with straps and brass buttons, is dear to his heart. His feet keep step to the tap of the drum, and the flag behind which he marches is a perpetual reminder to him that he is an integral part of a great nation which expects something from him in return for the freedom and citizenship which it has bestowed. It stimulates, too, the ability for organization, which is one of the latest developments of civilization. Here the negro is manifestly deficient. He fights and works well under the command and oversight of his superior, but looks to his officers for example as well as for orders, for backbone as well as brains—literally, the sinews of war. This mental and moral muscle is just what Hampton is supplying, teaching the negro first to help himself and then to lend a hand to others, to organize, to teach, and to command.

Hampton is a noble educational plant insufficiently endowed. Its alumni are

poor; they can give it only gratitude and sympathy, and, as a cynic has observed, the bonds of sympathy bear no coupons. This criticism, however, is only a surface truth, for no cause ever failed for lack of funds if it had enough vital sympathy behind it.

The success of this experiment of industrial education is a national affair. It intimately concerns the white population of the South, whose welfare, whether they will or not, is bound up with that of the blacks, so that the sarcastic advice, "Educate your masters!" becomes literal counsel of the truest and wisest kind. Nor are we of the North indifferent observers. So bound together is this nation by the iron bands of railroads and telegraph wires that the issue of affairs in the most distant South is of vital interest. Let it not be said of the thinkers of to-day as of those blind ones who watched the condition of France before the Revolution, that the philosophers were duller than the fribbles. Let us clearly recognize the difficulty and complexity of the problem with which we have to deal, and then let us address ourselves to its solution soberly, earnestly, and unremittingly.

THE NEGRO AND CIVILIZATION.

"AN AMERICAN WOMAN OF THE SOUTH." (Courtesy of *New York Evening Post*.)

BY MRS. JULIA MARGARET FULLER LLOYD.

VERY serious statements, invidious to the blacks, are sent almost daily from various parts of the South, and scattered broadcast as they are by Northern journals; these statements call on the whole American people for earnest consideration. The following may serve to illustrate the type: "The only large class of real paupers are the negroes who swarm in great numbers and live from hand to mouth, too lazy to work. It may be laid down as an axiom regarding certainly 70 per cent. of the negro race, that they will not work except just enough to keep body and soul together. The women are more thriftless and shiftless than the men, and altogether more vicious. It is not infrequent to find the men faithful, capable, and industrious. But with thousands of negro girls needing employ-

ment nothing is harder to get than good servants. The people who imagined they were freeing the negroes really freed the white people of the South—but turned the most peaceable and law-abiding people in the world into the most criminal race in this or any other civilized country. The negro's only idea of civilization, and the one his friends are constantly urging upon him, is to learn to read and write. Many of them can read and write, and from these literate negroes the jails are kept filled."

No wise physician thinks of prescribing or prohibiting a remedy until he has made a thorough diagnosis of the disease; and so no sound and just counsel can be found for America to-day without examining her national life for many days. The latest and most scientific teachers of history throughout the world prefer, where it is possible, to give their students the original documents and other contemporaneous authorities of any given era, rather than their own version of such data. All science of animate or inanimate nature, all human experience, all inspiration of Holy Writ, teach us that certain causes produce certain results. In the name, then, of the best human and divine wisdom, let us, in tracing

the history of the negro in America and elsewhere, turn to his different contemporaries at different periods and places.

One hundred and eleven years ago we find Thomas Jefferson, subsequently President of the United States, writing these words in his *Notes on Virginia*: "There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. With what execration should that statesman be loaded who, permitting one-half the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the *amor patriæ* of the other? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

Many years afterwards, in 1852, we find J. B. De Bow, of Louisiana, quoting the following statements from an address delivered by Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, before a Society for the Advancement of Learning, at Charleston, S. C.: "Odium has been cast upon our legislation on account

of its forbidding the elements of education to be communicated to slaves. But, in truth, what injury is done them by this? Would you do a benefit to the horse or the ox by giving him a cultivated understanding, or fine feelings? It is true that the passions of the men of the superior caste tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the female slave. But she is not less a useful member of society than before. She has done no great injury to herself or any other human being; her offspring is not a burden but an acquisition to her owner. I am asked how can that institution be tolerable by which a large class of society is cut off from improvement and knowledge, to whom blows are not degrading, theft no more than a fault, falsehood and the want of chastity almost venial, and in which a husband or parent looks with comparative indifference on that which to a freeman would be the dishonor of wife or child? But why not, if it produce the greatest aggregate of good?"

Here, from prominent Southern men, in the earlier and later days of slavery, we have an account of the workings of that institution in the lives of both white men and negroes, masters and slaves. Point for

point, we come upon those influences and that practice which both black and white posterity suffers for to-day. And this is inevitable. Any constitution of things that would make of man a responsible being must let him work weal or woe for himself and for others, according as he chooses good or clings to evil. And it also follows that not only crime but also ignorance must bear its penalty. But a great soul has said, "All life is a becoming," and this is so true, so divinely true, that the great, true, pure, loving Christ taught it as the greatest truth, taught it unceasingly; he who so condemned sin that he said the man who even looked at a woman with impure eyes was guilty of sin, yet so knew sinners that he spoke at once to the angel in them, saying: "Behold, this beautiful and holy thing within you is what the whole man may become." And the history of man confirms him. American history confirms him. Scattered here and there, throughout the South, in the days of slavery, were not a few men like Jefferson, longing and seeking for the nobler life for both English and African Americans. Scattered about the North were men who felt that to lose their life was to save it, if they could so save

men, and—God was over all. And if Jefferson and many others showed that the nobler qualities of the white race could persist even under the influence of slavery, so, too, did two noble Louisiana negroes and others of the colored race show that the nobler qualities of the African could survive bondage.

At the close of the Civil War a former large slave-holder was left without money, and without the courage and other resources which enable a man to make money. To the aid of this broken and helpless man came two black men, two of his former slaves, whom he had trained as mechanics, and whom he had then "hired out" to other men, always taking the whole of their large wages. The two ex-slaves not only came to his rescue in his extremity, but they also for ten years, which was until his death, maintained him in all the habits of refined comfort to which he had been accustomed, and at his death gave him what they called "a gentleman's funeral." This was told the writer, a Southern woman, by a Southerner and former slave-holder, who knew both the gentleman and the two negroes. He called the two latter "grand fellows."

Some four or five years ago Bishop Taylor,

just home from Africa, gave an interesting account of some of his African converts. He told of an African chief who when converted had several wives. No one had yet spoken to him about this, but Christianity seemed to speak for itself, for, with no other counsellor, he came to the conclusion that as a Christian he ought to have only one wife. Now, some of his wives were young and pretty, some strong for work in the fields, etc.; but his first wife was no longer young, nor strong, nor beautiful. Yet, letting the others go, it was she he kept, saying simply he thought "Christ would have it so." Henry Stanley, speaking of the native Africans in his African expedition, says: "The uncomplaining heroism of our dark fellows, the brave manhood latent in such uncouth disguise, the tenderness we have seen issuing from these nameless entities, the great love animating the ignoble, the sacrifice made by the unfortunate for one more unfortunate, the reverence we have noted in barbarians who, even as ourselves, were inspired with nobleness and incentives to duty—of all these we could speak if we would."

Carefully reviewing our evidence, what inference can we draw save that of the most hopeful character? If we have seen that he

who sows to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, that the first man is of the earth earthy, we have also seen that there is a man from heaven, and this man may find himself and his God-intended manhood beneath a skin of any color.

What we need in America to-day is a diviner standard of living for all men; not the old vices of Europe, but the ever-new, ever-enduring virtues taught by Jesus Christ. We have boasted of lower things until we have been blinded by them. We have made much money; but to-day, all over the land—North, South, East, and West—our best men are calling to their fellows, "Come, let us make *men*, let us *be* men, brothers, sons of God." We all need each other. Not one of us, black or white, rich or poor, can be as wise, or as good, or as happy as he might be, without all the wisdom, all the virtue, all the good cheer that all the others might bring him. United we stand, divided we fall, and justly

At this moment no thoughtful woman in America knows which to pity most—the sensual, empty, worthless lives of an enormous number of educated white men, North and South, or the squalid imitation of that life among uneducated black men. Of thoughtless women, what word is sad

enough? Let us not say it. Let our strong words be words of cheer as well as truth. First, what besides the nobler ordering of our own lives can we *do* for our whole country to-day? Among our many wise men could not two make valuable suggestions for the consideration of all? The long, comprehensive, and practical experience of General Armstrong and Booker Washington in training the negro race in the things which make for upright and useful living needs no fresh setting forth. Could not these two men meet a "Columbian Council" at the World's Fair, and make Columbia the fairer because of it? That it could be done is made certain by all the generous, magnanimous, high-minded things which men and women of every race are doing in America to-day.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND.

BY MRS. FREDERICK RHINELANDER JONES.

ONE afternoon during the month of September, 1771, the fair of St. Ovide was, as usual, filling what is now the Place Vendôme with a gay and idle crowd, which strolled from booth to booth, applauding or chaffing the jugglers, dancers, and acrobats who were toiling to make a Parisian holiday, and in the throng was a young fellow of twenty-six, named Valentin Haüy, the son of a poor linen-weaver of Picardy, and himself employed as a translating clerk and interpreter in the Foreign Office.

It is easy now to sneer at the humanitarianism of the last century, but it was the first sentiment which had appealed to all classes alike since the Crusades, and Haüy was a fervent disciple of the new philosophy, being one of those generous and optimistic souls who, in all ages, are called enthusiasts or visionaries, according to the point of view of the speaker. As he loitered along on the

day which was to be the turning-point of his life, he noticed that the crowd was thickest before a booth where a certain Valindrin had had the ingenious idea of forming a band of ten men, chosen among the blind beggars who were accustomed to sing and play various instruments in the streets. The lookers-on were shouting with laughter, and pressing so close around the frail stage that it ran great risk of destruction. Haüy shall describe what he saw in his own words:

"The players were tricked out in grotesque robes, with high, pointed caps, and wore large goggles of card-board without glasses. Placed before a desk on which were music and lights, they executed a monotonous chant—singers, violins, and basses being in unison. It was doubtless because of their ignorance of music that it was possible to justify the insult done to these unfortunate beings by surrounding them with emblems of stupidity, as in placing, for instance, a peacock's tail, full-spread behind their leader, and crowning him with the head-dress of Midas. How was it credible that a scene so dishonoring to humanity should not have perished at the very instant of its conception? May it not have been in order that the picture before my eyes should profound-

ly afflict my heart and kindle my spirit? Yes, I exclaimed to myself, seized with a great enthusiasm, I will substitute truth for this ridiculous fable, I will make the blind read, I will place in their hands volumes printed by themselves; they shall trace letters and be able to read their own writing, and I will even make them execute harmonious music." Valentin Haüy had found his life-work, and the blind their apostle.

Before his time there had been no systematic attempt to educate them, although here and there one of their number had distinguished himself in spite of his misfortune; one of the most brilliant examples being Nicholas Saunderson, who, although blind almost from birth, was Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, holding the chair after Whiston, who was Sir Isaac Newton's successor. He lectured in 1707 on Newton's "Theory of Optics," invented an arithmetical slate for the blind, published several treatises on the higher algebra, and was, moreover, an expert numismatist, to the point of detecting by touch the counterfeits in the collection of Roman coins at Cambridge.

The earliest asylum for the blind of which there is any definite record was founded in

Paris by St. Louis in 1254, and has been known ever since by the quaint name of the Hôtel des Quinze-Vingts. According to tradition, it was meant as a shelter for three hundred knights whose eyes had been put out by the Saracens, and whom the king brought back with him from the First Crusade; but history is silent as to the place where this act of wholesale cruelty was committed, or the way in which St. Louis managed to get the helpless little army home again. As time went on the Hôtel came to harbor women as well as men, and gained various rights and privileges, but its inmates were expected to contribute towards their support by begging in the streets and at church-doors, and it was from among them that Valindrin collected his band.

According to present statistics, about one in every thousand of the population of Western countries is blind, and during the Middle Ages the proportion was probably greater, as it is now in the East. It therefore followed that those among the blind in France who could show the copper fleur-de-lis given by Philippe-le Bel as a distinguishing badge to the Quinze-Vingts were considered as aristocrats by the less fortunate majority that helped to swell the ranks

of the vast army of prowling vagabonds and ruffians which then infested Europe. In the fifteenth century, one of the plays known as "Moralties" gives a characteristic sketch. A cripple and a blind man were comrades, living well and joyously together on the charity of the pious, until one day they heard the bad news that the funeral of a great saint, who had lately died, was to pass their way. Already his corpse was working miracles, healing the sick and casting out devils. The pair were terrified; "Heavens!" said they, "suppose the saint were to cure us and thus take the bread out of our mouths—let us decamp." So the blind man hoisted the cripple on his back and off they started for the nearest tavern. But they were too late, the funeral overtook them, and as the coffin passed they were made whole. When the cripple felt his legs sound under him, he cursed and swore, but his companion could not help being overjoyed. "Ah," he cried, "I did not know how goodly was the light of day! I can see Burgundy, France, and Savoy, and I thank God humbly." Clearly, the saint did not do miracles by halves.

For more than ten years Haüy patiently studied the different processes by which

individual blind people had contrived to gain some instruction. He visited the distiller of Puyseaux, who was the subject of Diderot's *Lettre sur les Aveugles*; he corresponded with Weisseburg, of Mannheim, who invented relief maps; and he was an intimate friend of Mlle. Paradies, a blind pianist from Vienna, who played publicly in concerts at Paris, and was altogether a remarkably intelligent woman. At last, in the spring of 1784, the enthusiast took for his first pupil a boy named François Lesneur, whose post as a beggar was in the church-porch of St. Germain-des-Prés. It was arranged that François should beg in the morning, and come to Haüy in the afternoon; but as his parents could not afford to spare any of his earnings, and his teacher wanted all of his time, it ended in the teacher's paying the pupil by making up to him what he would have received from charity.

Lesneur learned to read by passing his fingers over movable letters in relief, grouped into words; but one day, while arranging his master's desk, he found a notice which had been pressed so hard that some of the printed letters stood out on the paper, an O especially being distinctly legible, or rather tangible, to his eager fingers. Proud

of his discovery, he called Haüy, who forthwith traced with the handle of a small pen-knife more letters on the same paper, and when Lesueur read those also by touch, his teacher's quick brain had seized the idea of printing from types cast in high relief.

One pupil was not enough for Haüy, who wished to establish a school rather than to astonish the world by a single prodigy, and, fortunately for him, the Philanthropic Society, which had been recently founded, included among its beneficiaries twelve blind children. These he obtained permission to take into his own home, and then began for him a struggle lasting through the twenty stormy years which made modern Europe. He could not afford to give up his place in the Foreign Office, but every hour outside of it was claimed by the real work of his life. To make this better known, on December 26, 1786, his scholars, who then numbered twenty-four, gave an exhibition before the King at Versailles, where, after going through various exercises, and singing a loyal ode composed by one of them, they presented his Majesty with the first book printed from the new relief type, which had been set up and struck off by themselves. The title was *Essai sur l'Educa-*

tion des Aveugles, and Haüy was naturally the author. Outside of its value as a typographical curiosity, the book is most interesting, because the earnest and kindly nature of the writer reveals itself throughout. He says honestly that he had seen a letter printed by Mlle. Paradies from type made for her by one Kempellen, but certainly no one before Haüy had ever tried seriously to make printing available for the blind. He is convinced that they may be practical printers of books, not only for their own manual reading, but from ordinary type, and he gives elaborate descriptions of the "cases" most suitable for them, and suggests modifications of the presses then in use. He acknowledges that the cost of books printed in relief must necessarily be great, and their number consequently limited, but adds that, as the tendency of knowledge is towards selection, the library of the blind man may come in time to correspond with that of the man of good literary taste. That this prediction was true is shown by the catalogue of books for the blind, now printed in this country, in which we find not only the Bible and Shakespeare, but other English classics, such as Bunyan, Defoe, Scott, Thackeray, and Hawthorne.

Haüy suggests that his discovery may be of use to such learned men as shall wear out their sight in scientific pursuits, and regrets, with naïve simplicity, that Homer, Belisarius, and Milton should have been unable to profit by it. He extols the Abbé de l'Épée, who had begun to teach the deaf and dumb in 1750, and ends by declaring that more than all else his pupils shall be taught to rejoice that they are born Frenchmen and destined to live under the beneficent rule of a monarch whose millions of subjects regard him with the respectful tenderness of a family for the father who is the source of their happiness.

Making all due allowance for the loyalty of an official and the expectations of a philanthropist, these words sound strangely when one remembers that six months earlier the Queen had been insulted in the streets because of the Diamond Necklace, and that within the year the Parliament of Paris refused to authorize the taxes imposed by the King.

As a result of the entertainment before the Court, Louis XVI. ordered that the school, already known as the "Institution des Jeunes Aveugles," should be supported by the State, and promised its teacher the

cross of St. Michael; but neither the money nor the order was ever forthcoming, and Haüy struggled on through the Revolution and the Terror, working at his desk in the Foreign Office for his bread, and sharing it to the last crust with the pupils whom he kept together at the risk of beggary. In June, 1794, at the celebrated Fête of the Supreme Being, one car in the procession was filled with his blind children, and in 1795, the Convention decreed that the school was an "Institution Nationale," to be supported by a certain sum from each department throughout France. The Treasury either overlooked the allowance altogether, or paid it in worthless bonds, so the Institution was no better off, and only the help of a few benevolent souls kept the little group from starving together or drifting apart. This could not go on forever, and in 1801, by order of the First Consul, Haüy's school was absorbed into the Hôtel des Quinze-Vingts, and he forced to retire on a yearly pension of two thousand francs. It almost broke his heart. His biographer says: "By an incredible effort of industry and patience and self-sacrifice, he had managed to carry through the Revolution the work in which his soul was absorbed, only to see it destroy-

ed when all else around him began to be reorganized." As there was no system of education in the Quinze-Vingts, the pupils whom he had hoped to make useful and happy men and women were compelled to sit idle, or drudge all day at spinning wool, while he was shelved on a pension at the age of fifty-six.

With stubborn patience he gathered around him the next year a few children whose parents could afford to pay for their teaching, and started what he called the "Musée des Aveugles." Men ahead of their time seldom have the knack of making money, so the affairs of the school went from bad to worse, until 1806, when he accepted the repeated invitations of the Czar Alexander I., and started for Russia with his wife and a pet pupil named Fournier, making a sort of triumphal progress through the domains of the various princes who were then amusing themselves with philanthropy. The King of Prussia, Frederick William III., who was the husband of the beautiful Queen Louisa, and father of the Emperor William I., wrote with his own hand inviting him to Charlottenburg, and employed him to found the first public institution for the blind in Germany, which was conducted by John Augustus

Zeune. The Count of Provence was at that time in exile at Mittau, where Fournier wrote for him the following sentence, which turned out a prophecy, and was decidedly politic under the circumstances: "During the reign of Louis XVIII. the Institution des Aveugles will attain perfection." At first all went well at St. Petersburg. Haüy was the fashion and society made much of him, but his day was soon over, and eleven weary years followed, full of disappointment and failure, until, in 1817, he dragged himself back to France, an old and broken man, to find that, by an irony of fate, the Count of Provence, become Louis XVIII., had reorganized, by a decree of February 8, 1815, the "Institution Royale des Jeunes Aveugles." Haüy's former pupils welcomed him, but the new director was naturally averse to being ousted by a man whom he accused of having been "an active Revolutionary," so the latter, who had brought back for all riches the order of St. Vladimir of the fourth class, withdrew to the lodging of his brother, Abbé Haüy the mineralogist, near the Jardin des Plantes, and there he died quietly, in 1822, aged seventy-seven years.

The year before his death he had at least one fully happy day. The director then in

charge of the Institution des Aveugles was liberal enough to feel that Haüy had been treated with gross injustice, and a festival was given in his honor, in which all the scholars took part. The orchestra and chorus gave a cantata composed for the first feast-day of St. Valentine, celebrated at the school in 1788, one verse of which praised him as its benefactor. At its end the old man, who was paralyzed and failing fast, said simply: "My dear children, you owe everything to God." He was always modest, and when any one compared him to the Abbé de l'Épée, he would protest, saying, "I only fit spectacles, while he bestows a soul." *

Although all honor is due to the man who first gave the blind communication other than speech with their fellow-men, Haüy's discovery was not practically successful. The relief of his letters was too low, and their forms too complicated to be read by any but a few scholars with an exquisitely sensitive touch, so that most of the editions of the few books printed from his type were

* The foregoing account of Haüy has been taken from an interesting book published last year, called *Les Aveugles par Un Aveugle*, by M. Maurice de la Sizeranne, a pupil of the Institution des Jeunes Aveugles, which is still the leading school in France.

sold for waste-paper, and the pupils of the Institution which he founded were chiefly taught orally.

The school for the Indigent Blind, which was opened at Liverpool in 1791, was the first establishment of the kind in Great Britain, and although it was followed within a few years by others in Bristol, Edinburgh, and London, no definite plan of education was developed until, in 1826, James Gall, a printer and publisher of Edinburgh, saw some specimens of Haüy's printing, and obtained a box of his type. His practical knowledge led him to see its defects, and he set himself to improve the alphabet, in order to make it more easily felt, being induced to enter into the work by Lady Jane Erskine, sister of the Earl of Mar, who was herself blind. Gall rejected the French script, choosing the "lower-case," or small letters, making no use of capitals and further modifying the outlines of the letters into angles, as they are more easily recognized by the finger. His great work, the *Gospel of St. John*, was published in 1834. This is often spoken of as the first book of the Bible ever printed for the blind in any language, but the *Gospel of St. Mark* was published in Philadelphia, in February, 1833. The type

of the latter, which resembles Haüy's, was designed by Jacob Snyder, Jr., Recording Secretary of the Pennsylvania Institution, but it had the defects of its model, and after a few volumes had been printed it ceased to be used.

Experiments were made with no less than twenty different styles of printing in relief in the ten years between 1828 and 1838, and of these five obtained recognition. Three of them, Haüy's script, Gall's angular "lower-case," and the Alston plain "upper-case," using only capitals, were Roman; one, that of Moon, was an extreme modification of these forms, made especially for those whose touch was dull from age or hard work, while Frere's was phonetic, having arbitrary signs to represent sounds. The defect of them all lay in their failure to recognize the fact that the sense of touch has no quality by which it can take the place of sight, and is in no way quickened by the memory of what has been seen; some of the blind could certainly read, but the alphabet of the seeing, even if modified, was only to be traced by them with difficulty and hesitation.

The next step forward was again in France. An artillery officer named Charles Barbier, who had been a surveyor here dur-

ing our Revolution, and who had some fortune, became much interested in the blind. In 1819 he had the happy idea of making points or dots with a blunt stylus on thick paper, to be variously placed so that they should represent the thirty-six principal sounds of the French language. They were arranged vertically within a frame or "cell," in two lines, with room for six points on a side, an idea perhaps suggested to him by the popular game of dominos. Barbier meant his invention for the use of the blind who had grown up without learning to read, but its principal drawback lay in the amount of space which it wasted. As the cell was of fixed size, if a sound was represented by a point in one corner, all the rest was left blank, a great disadvantage in printing. As Haüy's script gave Gall his first idea of letters in high relief, which are the basis of the line system, Barbier's invention, although unpractical, was the foundation of the point system, which is destined to supersede line altogether.

In 1809 Louis Braille was born, who became blind at four years old, and was sent to the Institution des Jeunes Aveugles. As he grew up there he studied Barbier's method until he saw a way to simplify it, and

this he did, when twenty-six years old, by abandoning phonetics, leaving out the lower half of the cell, and varying the combinations of the remaining six points so that they should represent the letters of the French alphabet. These six points can be combined to give sixty-three different signs, including accents, punctuation, figures, algebraic signs, and musical notation. This system was soon introduced into the Institution, and is now generally used in Europe. It was, however, still defective in that the cell was of fixed size, so that space was lost unless there were points enough to fill it. One of the greatest merits of "Braille Point" was that it could be easily written, and to this end he devised an ingenious slate, which is still in use. The bed is of metal, crossed horizontally by shallow grooves about one-tenth of an inch apart, which give it somewhat the look of a miniature washboard. The wooden frame is hinged at the top, so that it may close down and keep a thick sheet of paper in place on the bed. The writing instrument, or stylus, is a short piece of wire, rounded at the point in order not to pierce the paper, and fixed in a wooden handle. A narrow strip of brass, divided into rectangular cells, stretches across the

slate, and has a peg at each end which fits into holes in the frame. This is the guide, and is movable up and down the slate. Through it the pupil pricks the letters, working from right to left, and when the paper is taken out, it is reversed and read like an ordinary page, from left to right.

Before and since Braille's time various writing frames and contrivances have been invented for the blind, but this is the only method by which they can not only write, but read by themselves whatever may be written to them.

In this country schools for the blind were opened at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, in the order named, in 1832 and 1833, and that of Boston attracted especial attention because of the devotion and talent of its first principal, Dr. S. G. Howe. He went to Europe in 1830, on purpose to master the various methods of instruction followed there; but at Paris Braille's system was in its infancy and does not seem to have attracted his attention, for in an extended account of his visit no mention is made of the new idea. He presently adopted the angular lower-case type, in the style of Gall, and as early as 1842, the whole Bible, printed in this so-called Boston type, was

distributed, free of cost, by the American Bible Society.

Dr. Howe's fame will probably chiefly rest on his successful rescue of Laura Bridgeman, who came under his care in 1837, from the terrible isolation in which she was placed by being deaf and dumb as well as blind, but it is impossible to over-estimate his services to the Boston school, and to the cause of the blind in general. Dr. Howe was not only excellent, but the cause of excellence in others; and it was his good-fortune, as well as his due, to inspire enthusiasm for himself as well as for his work. When the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind was first started, money for it came in but slowly, until Thomas Handasyd Perkins made the noble donation which has linked his name enduringly with the work. Throughout his life Howe had a host of friends, and it was but natural that, at his death, in 1876, his son-in-law, Mr. Michael Anagnos, should have been chosen to succeed him, while, as a further expression of affectionate admiration, the Howe Memorial Press was endowed by subscription to continue printing books in the type with which he was identified.

The New York Institution for the Blind

had early adopted the Boston line letter, and for some years had used printed books in no other form, when Mr. William B. Wait became its principal in 1863. Educated for the bar, he had already entered upon practice, when his health broke down from overwork, and he took a position as teacher in the Institution, intending to give it up so soon as he should be well again. But with renewed health came keener interest in what he saw were problems to be solved, and on the retirement of Mr. R. G. Rankin, he took the place which he has since filled with entire singleness of purpose and marked ability. He was at once struck by the fact that many of the children did not read, and that text-books were not employed in class work. The published literature was considerable, but it was of no use unless the pupils could read well. The entire school was therefore arranged in graded classes, new alphabet cards were procured, and much extra time was given to the slower pupils, while the class grading was rearranged from week to week. At the end of two years it was found that twenty per cent. could read with facility; forty-eight per cent. moderately well, and thirty-two per cent. were unable to read at all. Sta-

tistics collected from other large schools showed that of their pupils from twenty-two to forty-eight per cent. could read with facility; eighteen to thirty-nine per cent. moderately well, while fifty-eight to fourteen per cent. could not read at all. These figures do not include the Boston school, which did not furnish any statistics.

As most of the figures seemed to indicate different standard or better methods, Mr. Wait visited several schools, including that of Boston, and found that while the pupils were about alike as to age and ability, there was no standard of classification in reading. The group of non-readers included some of the most intelligent, while the capacity for touch-reading was no test of mental capacity. The books were generally in Boston type, but text-books were nowhere used in the classes, while the Braille system, although known to a few—chiefly teachers—was not recognized in the course of study in any school. Mr. Wait found himself reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the line-letter systems were no longer adequate, as they failed to fulfil the requisite conditions of touch perception, and could not be written.

About 1860 Braille Point had been taught

in the St. Louis school, with the result that out of sixty-nine pupils forty-five were able to read with facility and twenty-four moderately well. In New York a test was made with eight pupils, who, after long and patient effort, had utterly failed to distinguish the Boston letters one from another. From five to thirty lessons were given with the point letters, and in each case they succeeded well, while in eleven lessons given to the entire school the tangible efficiency of the point system was proved with every pupil. Further study of Braille convinced Mr. Wait that the vertical cell, which had been derived from Barbier, and which allotted a fixed and unvarying space to all signs alike, whether they had many points or few, did not follow the most correct principle of construction, besides wasting space, which meant in a book increase of bulk and consequently of cost. The finger, also, like the eye, ran more easily across the paper than up and down. He therefore placed his points so that they read horizontally instead of vertically, and did away with the fixed cell, the result being that a letter made up of two points occupied one-third as much room as one composed of six points, the same space remaining between the let-

ters as before. With the aid of some type and a small press, the new method was critically and thoroughly tested, and in 1868 Mr. Wait published it and made an effort to secure the adhesion of Boston and Philadelphia to a point system, though not necessarily to his own. At that time the whole country was almost entirely dependent on the Boston press for embossed books, and the proposal to change was not accepted. Among other teachers, however, the New York Point steadily grew in favor, and at the first meeting of the American Association of Instructors of the Blind, held at Indianapolis in 1871, the superintendent of the St. Louis school, which had been the pioneer of Braille in this country, gave his reasons for preferring Mr. Wait's system, and the New York Point was recommended for use in all institutions for the education of the blind. An important improvement in the new system was the adoption of the principle of recurrence, as used in shorthand and telegraphy, by which letters most frequently needed have the simplest forms. Capitals had never been used in either of the line systems, but some publications were brought out in Philadelphia in which capitals and small letters appeared in their

usual relations. The combination was certainly not easier to read than the "lower-case" alone had been, but it was considered an improvement, and in 1878, after Dr. Howe's death, it was adopted in the Boston school.

Objection having been made to the New York Point in some quarters, because it had no capitals nor musical notation, Mr. Wait set himself to provide both, and produced an effective and rational code of musical signs, which was at once placed among the regular branches of study in a number of the schools.

As far back as 1858 the Legislature of Kentucky had established the American Printing House for the Blind, at Louisville, the object being to have a central press to which each State should contribute funds, in order to furnish books for the various asylums. Some States responded, but others did not, and the work dragged along until 1879, when all the great schools, except Boston, which had its own press, united in urging Congress to grant a subsidy for the maintenance of the Printing House on an efficient footing. The sum of \$10,000 a year was appropriated for the purpose, and now nearly all the printing for the

blind throughout the country is done there. The Printing House is a curious combination of business and charity. It sells as well as gives away its books, but is forbidden to make any profit on them. Although a private corporation, it is subsidized by the Government, and each superintendent of a public institution for the education of the blind is by right of his office one of its trustees. The principals of institutions form an advisory council, and decide what books shall be printed each year, which are divided among the schools according to the number of their pupils. An interesting part of the work of the Printing House is the weekly issue of "International Sunday-school Lessons," in duplicate editions of line and point print, by which two thousand blind children in Sunday-schools scattered all over the country receive their lessons with text and comment specially edited for them.

Any one who goes about on the west side of New York knows the large and somewhat stern gray building which stands back in its grounds at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Ninth Avenue. It is the New York Institution for the Blind, supported by private endowment, and also by the State, which allows \$250 a year for

each child sent by it, usually from the city or its neighborhood, as there is another State School for the Blind at Batavia. Only within the walls of the institution can its methods be readily studied. If the visit is made during a "recess" in school hours, the long halls are apt to be filled with a crowd of children, chattering away with the proverbial cheerfulness of the blind, and walking or running almost as firmly and freely as though they could see. When two or three together come straight along, it is instinctive to draw back against a wall or into a doorway, and as they pass within a foot unheeding, it is impossible not to have an uncanny feeling that "we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible." In the central court-yards, on the boys' side, leap-frog or wrestling are going on; while in a corner of the girls' playground, two of them are turning the rope vigorously, while the third steps back and forth, waiting to "run in" and jump, just as her luckier sister who can see may be doing in any street or square outside. Bells take the place of clocks in marking time for this darkling world, and as they sound the children go to their different classrooms. There are now two hundred and

ten pupils in the Institution, the average age being about fourteen. They are not admitted younger than eight, in order not to lessen the responsibility which their parents should always feel for them, and which is apt to be lost if the State takes charge of them too early. When a child comes, it is put into the kindergarten, and the first thing to be done is to teach it to use its hands and feet properly. The cases where a blind child is abused at home are happily rare, and it is more likely to have been treated as if it could not possibly do anything for itself. All movements where balance and equilibrium are concerned are hard for it, as any one may see who watches the shuffling gait and awkward motions of a blind person who has grown up untaught. To correct this, calisthenics are largely employed, to the evident delight of the children, and for quieter occupations they weave paper-mats, stitch outlines of rabbits on card-board, and follow generally the course of instructive play which has carried Froebel's name over the world. People in general have a comfortable impression that, while blindness is a great misfortune, those afflicted with it have the rest of their senses so acute from birth that the loss is

almost made up to them. This is a mistake, for not more than five per cent. are born blind, and even that percentage is probably too large, as there are several diseases of the eye which may destroy the sight within the first month. It is true, however, that the other senses develop highly with practice. When all is dark around us it is usually also quiet, and our perceptions are slackened; but if any one will tie a thick bandage over his eyes during the day, when life and movement are going on about him, he will soon be conscious of listening with painful intentness, and the other senses, when called upon, will quicken in their turn. Many children with sound eyes shut them when studying intently, and the fact that a blind boy, for instance, is quicker at arithmetic than one who can see, does not, in most cases, mean that he is more gifted, but that he has less to distract his attention. The first time that an outsider sees a large class of blind children together he will perhaps be struck by certain peculiarities of expression. It is not only that the sightless eyes or closed lids give the face a blank look, like a house with the shades drawn down, but that there may be a dropping of the jaw, or a wrinkling of the

brow, which does not mean any lack of intelligence, but only that a human being is forever deprived of the friendly mirror and monition of other eyes. Good teachers are always on the alert to correct these involuntary facial tricks. The studies and exercises are carefully adapted to the needs of the pupils. Gymnastics have an important place, because physical health and equable muscular development are especially necessary to the blind, whose affliction, when not caused by accident, is often due to inherited disease or constitutional weakness.

Mr. Stephen Babcock, himself blind from boyhood, has been a highly valued and valuable teacher of geography and mathematics in the Institution for the past thirty years. Formerly pupils studied geography by passing their fingers over relief maps hung on the wall, but the result attained was unsatisfactory, and in 1856 Mr. T. C. Cooper, who was then superintendent, gave Mr. Babcock the pieces of an ordinary dissected map, such as children play with, and asked him to put it together again. This he did readily, and new maps were thereupon made, dissected as well as in relief, and placed on tables, so that each country, State, or even county, can be taken up and

studied separately. Coast-lines are raised above the water, river courses are depressed, mountains indicated by slight elevations, while screws or tacks, with heads of various sizes and shapes, serve for capitals and other cities of importance. If it were only not so pathetic it would be amusing to see a child sitting in a corner feeling and stroking Rhode Island or Texas over and over, as a little girl strokes the face of her favorite doll. As a result, the children come to know every part of a map by touch, and when it is all jumbled up they can sort and fit it together again with wonderful quickness. The distribution of land and water and the political divisions of the eastern and western hemispheres are shown upon planisphere maps five feet in diameter, which revolve on a vertical axis, while the earth is represented by large globes with brass meridians and raised equators marked off in degrees.

Mental arithmetic is much employed, although there are text-books in the classes; and for the solution of problems in advanced arithmetic or algebra, which are too long and complicated to be carried in the memory, types are used. On each end of the type-cube is a number, letter, or other

arithmetical symbol. These, with the point letters of the New York system furnish the means for algebraic work. The types are adjusted in a frame or slate of metal filled with square holes, which is almost the same as that invented nearly two hundred years ago by Saunderson.

In music there are seven graded classes, which are under the general supervision of Miss Hannah Babcock, a thorough musician who has been of the greatest use to Mr. Wait in developing his system of musical notation. The children begin with class singing by ear, and afterwards the study of elementary harmony and that of the New York Point musical notation, which has about one hundred and fifty distinct signs, are carried on together. If pupils show talent they are taught to play the piano or the organ, and are also further instructed in harmony and in counterpoint.

The American College of Music is an incorporated body, counting among its members some of the foremost musicians and teachers in the country. There are three degrees, that of Associate, Fellow, and Master, which are conferred in order upon any one who is able to pass the rigid examinations prescribed. Henry Tschudi, a boy

of seventeen, blind from birth, and educated in the Institution, passed his examination in June, 1891, in harmony, counterpoint, the history of music, musical form, terminology, acoustics, and the theory and practice of the organ. It was necessary for the candidate to play at command compositions by Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, and other composers, in polyphonic sonata, and free forms, also to transpose, to harmonize a figured bass, improvise upon a given theme, and to determine the pitch of tones by ear. The demonstrative examination at the organ was conducted by Mr. S. P. Warren, Mr. George E. Whiting, and Mr. J. B. Whitney, and Tschudi received 92.80 per cent., being the first blind person to pass this examination. Except in acoustics, his teacher in all these branches was Miss Babcock, and his case may be regarded not only as a proof of signal ability, but as a triumph of scientific teaching.

Another pupil of whom the Institution is justly proud is Mr. Lewis B. Carll, also born blind, who was prepared for Columbia College in the English branches within its walls. On leaving it he studied the classics at Fairchild's Institute at Flushing, Long Island, near his home. A fellow-

pupil dictated to him Latin or Greek, and he printed the text in New York Point. In writing Latin he, of course, used English letters, but for Greek he invented his own symbols. He could print about twenty-five lines of Virgil in an hour, and almost as much Greek, and during his college course he printed more than three thousand sheets. His mathematics were also read to him, and in geometry his diagrams were made in point by a brother who could see, and Carll then learnt them by touch. With a firm mind and steady enthusiasm he worked on and brought to college with him his point-printed classics and mathematics. He rarely needed a diagram for a proposition in geometry, for so accurate was his understanding of the theorem to be proved, and so precise his mental perception of the figure in all its parts, that he could make the whole demonstration orally with perfect clearness.

Mr. Carll graduated from Columbia in 1870, being a classmate of the present President, Mr. Low, and was bracketed for second place in a class of thirty. He also delivered the class oration. While in college he became curious about the Calculus of Variations, and after leaving it he found

great difficulty in procuring anything which would settle the matter in his mind. Having collected all the available information, he decided that there was need for a new treatise on the subject, but the necessary material was widely scattered through mathematical journals, many of them being in French or German. These he had translated to him, and he worked out the equations by himself, taking nothing for granted. With infinite pains and patience he succeeded in writing an exhaustive treatise, for which, after some difficulty, he found a publisher, on condition that a certain number of subscribers were guaranteed. These he secured himself, going about the city for the purpose, sometimes with a companion, but often alone. It was a fitting reward for so much pluck and perseverance that the book should have been well received, and another edition already issued, of which the larger part has been sent to England. Mr. Carll now lectures at Columbia College twice a week, to graduates, on the Calculus of Variations, and supports himself by giving lessons in mathematics. He lives in New Jersey, and comes to New York every day alone, going sometimes as far as Harlem.

It seems as though it were only in a few such cases of brilliant talent that there can be any real competition between the blind and the seeing; but a blind child, like one who has lost an arm or leg, may learn to make the most of what is left to him, and to that end the work-rooms of the Institution claim their full share of each day. The boys are taught to make mattresses, to cane chairs, and if they have ear and brain enough to be tuners, there are models by which they may become familiar with the anatomy of the piano. The girls learn to knit and sew by hand and on machines; they embroider and make coarse lace, and are also taught cooking on little gas-stoves. Not long ago one of them had to go home because her mother was ill, and on her return she was heard to say, half in joke and half in earnest: "It was a bad day for me when I learnt to cook, for I was kept at it all the time."

The list which is kept of the occupations followed by pupils after they leave the school gives some curious reading. One of the tuners in Steinway's warerooms is a graduate, and another was for some years the organist of Dr. Howard Crosby's church. An insurance broker, a prosperous news-

vender who owns three stalls, a horse-dealer, a tax-collector, a real-estate agent, a florist, are all duly recorded; but the most astonishing entries are those of a lumberman, a sailor and cook, and a switch-tender. Once outside the walls of the Institution the pupils find their own level according to their ability; but wherever they may go they always keep a friendly feeling for the teachers who have literally led them forth, so far as may be, from the shadow of a great darkness, and these in their turn are repaid for hours of patient drudgery by the knowledge that they have helped to turn a useless creature into a man or woman for whom there is a place in the world.

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